20c JUNE 25, 1951

New Republic

KOREA . . .

A YEAR OF ACHIEVEMENT

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CORRESPONDENCE

Congressional Immunity Unlimited

SIR: There has been a great deal of talk lately about striking out the absolute immunity established by the Constitution under which *members* of Congress "shall not be questioned in any other place" for any speech or debate in either house. Sen. Lester C. Hunt (D, Wyo.) announced several months ago his intention to re-submit his proposal originally made last August of withdrawing that immunity by Constitutional amendment. Doubtful, however, of the chances for success of such a drastic step, he has also offered a companion measure which would authorize suit against the government by any individual who is slandered by a member of either house of Congress.

The Senator has said that his measures were prompted by the explosion of charges leveled against Anna M. Rosenberg following her nomination as Assistant Secretary of Defense. He apparently makes the erroneous assumption—and one that is commonly made—that to the extent that the immunity of members of Congress is removed or limited the immunity of Congressional witnesses will accordingly be curtailed. For it is to be remembered that Mrs. Rosenberg was slandered by Congressional witnesses, not members.

But the truth of the matter is that the immunity of Congressional witnesses is not an extension of that accorded to members by the Constitution. Rather, the courts have based the immunity of legislative witnesses on the analogy of the immunity granted statements made by witnesses in judicial hearings. The few cases on the point are summed up in the *American Law Reports* on page 1,255:

> Defamatory testimony before a regularly constituted legislative body, or a committee thereof, making a legally authorized investigation, is generally held to be subject to the same rules of privilege as similar testimony in courts of justice.

The differences between these two sets of witnesses raise much doubt as to the justification for the same rules of privilege. In the first place, there are enforced procedures of evidence in judicial trials which have no real counterparts in Congressional hearings. Secondly, legal proceedings are resolved by a final verdict which receives far greater publicity and credence than do the charges made throughout the trials. But the final verdict of Congressional trials—especially if they clear smeared victims—rarely receives equivalent publicity or credence as compared to the sensational charges which may have been made. Ask Mr. Lattimore. The cloak of immunity afforded the much-publicized Congressional witness gives him a far greater power to harm than his legal opposite.

Nor is the availability of a criminal prosecution for perjury a sufficient guarantee that the truth will be established from conflicting testimony which is presented before a Congressional committee. There are two counts against this dependence. As every lawyer knows—especially a District Attorney—it is more difficult to prove perjury than to prove murder. Not only must the government establish guilt beyond a reasonable doubt, but it must further show that the statement was false by the testimony of two independent witnesses. A second weakness inherent in perjury cases is that since it is up to the government to determine whether perjury charges in any event shall be drawn up, politics rather than justice may under certain circumstances dictate whether action will be taken. And, as a number of Congressional hearings have revealed, the penalty for the crime of perjury is often no deterrence to lying under oath.

It would indeed be ironic to qualify the immunity of legislators and leave the legislative witness in the same position he has always been. This may very well be the situation if Senator Hunt's measures should be adopted. It might be better to aim at a target which is more likely to be hit and at the same time remedy a less justifiable state of affairs. As the bill which substitutes the Constitutional amendment acknowledges, it is unlikely that Congress will shed its cloak of immunity—and there are reasons why it should not. The importance of free speech in Congress by men who face the court of public opinion and the electoral process outweighs the harm which may result to individuals. But to provide a public forum for any and all persons who have axes to grind and who are responsible to nothing but their own doubtful consciences is a different matter.

Limiting the absolute immunity of such persons will rarely if ever mean the loss of information which would otherwise be available to the public because only liars will be inhibited. Among the accused, only those who are innocent would risk challenging accusers to back up charges with facts or face penalties.

The present situation gravely injures the public as well as individuals. One of the reasons for the inability of the public service to attract more competent and loyal personnel is the possible ruination of reputations which is becoming part of the price of public service. Low salaries are only part of the story.

Regardless of the case for or against immunity of members of Congress, the lines of limitation in the area of absolute immunity of Congressional witnesses should be drawn first.

New York City I. J. SLOMOWITZ

(Continued on page 4)

BANDWAGON

The Common Touch

At a press conference Thursday, President Funston served notice that, upon taking over in the Stock Exchange, he is going to ride to work on the subway mornings in the opening move of his campaign to bring the stock market closer to the American people. – *From the Hartford* Courant.

Morals a la Mode

The gist of [Larry] Parks' future seems to rest with the people who buy movie tickets. But nobody in Hollywood expected the fans to push him higher up the Hollywood ladder, as they did with Errol Flynn and Robert Mitchum. Their scandals made them bigger stars than ever.

"But," pointed out one studio executive, "sex and narcotics are a lot different from Communism." – *From the Los Angeles* Daily News.

The Book Worms

In a statewide radio broadcast explaining that the classroom unit appropriation of $3,600 would add $1.8 million to tax bills, Governor Lee labeled education lobbyists "the most evil force on Capitol Hill, persons whose acts are inconsistent with democracy." – *Dispatch from Salt Lake City to the New York* Times.

Local Ground Rule

C. E. Simmons, former president of the District chapter of the Property Owners of America, said he'd never heard of anyone sleeping outdoors here for lack of housing. Until that happens there's no need for controls, he said. – *From the Washington* Post.

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New Republic

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EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Helen Fuller
ASSISTANT EDITOR: Elizabeth Huling
REPORTER: Jean Begeman
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler
DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)
COPY ASSISTANTS: Marjorie Stanley, Lucille Davis

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WASHINGTON WIRE

GENERAL VAN FLEET is conducting a majestic barn-door movement in Korea, with his left flank anchored in the extremely favorable pivot of Munsan and his right flank slowly swinging to Wonsan. Improved news from Korea has vastly reduced the pressure of the Senate investigation into MacArthur's dismissal and comes even as that General cries "stalemate." It's too soon to say how successful Van Fleet will be, but it appears that the Communist Chinese have lost their chance to get a cease-fire armistice at the 38th Parallel.

The same forces are now at work in the Republican Party to lose them the 1952 elections that lost them 1948. There is the same over-confidence, the same surly obstructionism, above all the same leadership that hits at social reforms and internationalism alike. The country did not elect Truman in 1948 because it wanted him; what happened was a last-minute recoil from Republicanism. In the long run, it might be good for America to have an interval of GOP government, though it would be hard to take at the time. Twenty years of one party is a long interval. As the situation now stands, any reasonable progressive Republican, it would seem, could win next year. But Republican victory depends on attracting intelligent middle-roaders — the non-partisan vote which swings most elections.

Are the Republicans doing this now? On the contrary. Their dominant leaders have not had a new thought in a quarter-century. They are giving the nation MacArthur and McCarthy. Taft rules the roost. That albatross-round-the-neck Colonel McCormick, is the spiritual father to the ruling Senatorial clique: Wherry, Bridges, Hickenlooper, Taft. With irrational stubbornness the GOP looks to the East when the world peril is West, preaches anti-foreignism when America's safety rests on allies. House Republicans are led by likeable Joe Martin, whose scale of global values is that of a North Attleboro precinct captain. The GOP national committeemen are now bursting with confidence. They can hardly control their enthusiasm. They maintain that they lost 1948 simply by a "fluke"; it was all the fault of "that internationalist Dewey"! Their prescription for success is to soften America up with McCarthy and MacArthur and then give the nation Bob Taft. Maybe little Harry Truman will get another four years.

Whitaker and Baxter, the American Medical Association's $100,000-a-year public-relations team imported Dave Beck, boss of the AFL teamsters, to give the final eulogy to the $4 million campaign against "socialized medicine." (Socialized medicine, you must understand, is now officially dead; W&B say so, and who should know better after spending $4 million?) Beck spoke before a banquet at Atlantic City, and it must have been quite a show, judging by Murray Kempton, New York *Post* reporter. His speech was broadcast over 100 stations. Beck applauded "free enterprise" as well as Bob Taft could have done. The highlight of his address was his comment, "You doctors have a pretty good union." The doctors chuckled and gave him uproarious applause. With power like theirs, they could afford to applaud with approval.

The Senate liberal group has succeeded in dramatizing the personal relationship which every citizen has to the immensely rich off-shore oil lands. The Supreme Court awarded the tidelands to the nation, but lobby pressure to return them to California and Texas for private exploitation is almost irresistible. Now the liberal group proposes that the $40 billion or more in oil assets be set aside as a special fund to support schools in all the states. Sponsoring it is a

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group of a dozen liberal Senators led by Lister Hill (D, Ala.). Suddenly it becomes visible that the proponents of states' rights are really fighting the interest of the nation as a whole, symbolized in children's education.

Professor Wilson's notable book, *Congress: Corruption and Compromise*, emphasizes that the low repute of Congress stems primarily from the legislature's own laxity in dealing with venal members. Now comes a new test. Rep. Walter Brehm (R, Ohio) was fined $5,000 and given a suspended jail sentence for receiving "kickbacks" from a man in his office. Brehm has been in Congress nine years but tearfully claims he never heard of the law. Will he be allowed to keep his committee post? Will he be welcomed in the House, which keeps Rep. Edward Cox (D, Ga.) on the powerful Rules Committee, though evidence indicates he violated the criminal code by accepting a $2,500 retainer before a federal agency while he was a House member? The reputation of Congress is in its own hands.

The nation is heading toward a $6 billion deficit because Congress won't raise taxes adequately to halt inflation. To offset its failure Congress has started a huge drive to chop off non-defense spending. It is queer to see Paul Douglas associated with Harry Byrd in this enterprise. One of the great economies of the GOP 80th Congress, we remember, was cutting funds for Bureau of Internal Revenue enforcement. For every $10 saved, $100 was lost in uncollected income taxes.

Notes: Add to the list of courageous newspapers that opposed the Supreme Court's 6-to-2 decision abridging freedom of speech in the Communist case the Louisville *Courier-Journal*. . . . Everyone waits to see whether Taft will give moral support to McCarthy's new attack on Marshall as he did to the attack on Acheson. . . . MacArthur speeches sound increasingly like a man with political ambitions; they are a challenge to Truman to take to the stump.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

Air Monopoly Appendix

SIR: I wish to compliment you on your excellent articles on civil aviation by Harry Conn in the June 4 and June 11 issues of the *New Republic*.

I am counsel to a number of irregular air carriers and also the Aircoach Transport Association on the East Coast. I have had experience with the Civil Aeronautics Board both in enforcement cases and otherwise.

My impression was that the board was embarked on a policy of elimination of the so-called non-skeds, and a good many have, by one proceeding or another, been eliminated to date. Only the hardy, or perhaps the lucky, remain.

You are probably aware that Standard Airlines, with which Stan Weiss, a veteran, was connected, was put out of business by the board through the medium of an enforcement case.

The board also put out of business Arrow Airways, Inc., because of its heinous offense of giving the public the service it desired, on the ground that it operated too frequently. George Batchelor, a veteran, was president of that company.

It is also true that there may have been some black sheep but so far as I know those carriers have gone out of business either because of their own incapacity, or by board action.

I appeared before the board and argued against the adoption of the so-called "death-edict" regulation.

The board took the position that the general exemption granted to irregular air carriers did not permit them to engage in so-called route service, and that if there was a demand for a low-cost coach type of air transportation, the Civil Aeronautics Act provided a method for the rendering of such service by application for a certificate of public convenience and necessity.

This has been the oft-repeated contention of the board.

I pointed out to the board that this so-called opportunity was illusory. Although it is true that the Act does provide for and permit an application for a certificate, the fact is that this type of proceeding is impractical.

About 17 irregular air carriers did in fact file applications for certificates or exemptions permitting transcontinental coach type service. All but four of the applicants dropped out of the case.

The proceeding has been pending since March, 1949, or thereabouts, and the requirements are so difficult to meet that it is well nigh impossible for the average irregular air carrier to survive this type of proceeding.

It has been variously estimated that the cost to an applicant for such a proceeding varies from $50,000 to $100,000 or more. (Airline Industry Investigation, pp. 302, 1,062.)

The obstacle of the high cost is not the only hurdle to be surmounted. Pending the long and tortuous proceeding, carrier applicants who operated in an attempt to gain the necessary experience and to earn funds to maintain their equipment and to retain their personnel, and thus keep alive during the protracted proceeding, were put out of business by the Enforcement Section of the board on the ground that they operated "illegally," that is, with too much regularity and frequency.

One of the four applicants remaining in the case is Air America, Inc., which surrendered its Letter of Registration when an enforcement proceeding was brought by the board to revoke its operating rights because of alleged regularity of operations.

Trans America Airways, Inc., another remaining applicant, whom I represent, was proceeded against in the same enforcement case involving Great Lakes Airlines, Inc.

The last applicant, California Eastern Airways, Inc., does not have any operating authority but has been earning money leasing its aircraft to irregular air carriers, and in connection with the Korean air-lift.

We finally argued the Coach Case before the board last April and we are now awaiting a decision.

It should also be noted that the enforcement cases were brought by the board against three of the operating applicants; also, that Air America is no longer operating in view of its surrender of its Letter of Registration, leaving only two operating applicants, Trans American Airways and Great Lakes Airlines.

If the enforcement case is completed before a decision is handed down in the Coach Case, there may be no remaining operating applicants when the Coach Case is finally decided.

Incidentally, I am not aware of any enforcement case that was ever lost by the Enforcement Section of the board. I don't believe any district attorney's office has a 100-percent record of convictions. Your articles indicate a great deal of research and a full and comprehensive knowledge and grasp of the subject matter.

A number of the irregular air carriers have been in touch with me praising your articles. They may be derelict in directly expressing their appreciation to you, so I take this opportunity as counsel for a goodly number of the carriers to express it for them. Keep up the good work.

New York City GEORGE BERKOWITZ

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New Republic

RENT CONTROL—THE LAST ROUND

ON JUNE 30 federal rent controls die. The impact of rising rents, threatening hundreds of thousands of American families, will be much greater because of the lack of new low-cost rental housing. Our Congress, which scotched the housing program and which is throttling rent control, has acted however—to strike off a medal for the returning heroes of the Korean War. Now, as Frank Edwards remarked, we can rest happy in the knowledge that the medal will shine from the lapels of our veterans as they tramp our city streets in vain in search for a roof to cover them at rents they can afford.

The veterans to whom we owe our freedom are in the greatest need. Ten thousand of the 12,500 applications for low-cost housing in Boston were filed by veterans and their families. The veterans in Atlanta, Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles and Seattle face the same need. Now almost all the housing projects for these cities are dead. The 135,000 new units to have been constructed this year under the 1949 Act were first slashed to 75,000 by the President in his budget message, then chopped down to 5,000 by the Congress, after Rep. Ed Gossett of Texas and his friends marched into the lobbies behind the banner of the National Association of Real Estate Boards. That this foul act was carried through by a hard and fast coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats was openly conceded when the Majority Leader, Rep. John McCormack, rose to protest the coalition's attack on housing. "I will be glad to yield to the minority leader," replied Eugene Cox of Georgia who at that moment was carrying the ball.

Once again the real-estate lobby is proving itself the most ruthless of all pressure groups. The injustice of its standards bears most heavily of all on the families of hundreds of thousands of reservists called back into service. Housing is hopelessly inadequate in areas around reactivated Army, Navy and Air Force bases. Landlords in these areas have made millions by forcing through decontrol of rents under the local-option system permitted by Congress and by gouging Army families.

Rents have increased 60 percent around Selfridge Field in Michigan. Twelve hundred Army families are living in substandard units at Castle Field, California. Congressional investigators uncovered intolerable conditions at Scott Field, Illinois, and Camp Pickett, Virginia, where shacks rent to Army families at $125 a month—the major part of their pay. Names of bases are redundant. The situation is universal. One-half of the 500 Army, Navy and Air Force bases that have been reactivated are in areas stripped of rent controls.

In Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, Tighe Woods, the Housing Expediter, has cited instances of Marines, earning $82.50 a month, who are each paying $65 rental for a three-bedroom cottage shared by four couples. He cites the further case of a reservist, recalled twice, paying $45 a month for one room near Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, out of a salary of $117 per month. This family like thousands has been broken up, with the wife forced to work and the son sent home to her parents, for the privilege of having the husband in the Armed Forces. Their situation is summed up by one Navy wife so outraged by the efforts of local landlords to kill off a new housing project for the Navy base near North Kingston, Connecticut, that she wrote to the local newspaper:

> We are a Navy family who, since coming to North Kingston, have lived in a two-room Quonset hut where the water was not fit to drink and had to be carried from the air station each day. The washing machine could not be used because of a poor cesspool, and we almost froze to death. For this we paid the paltry sum of $80 plus heat and electric bills.
>
> From there we went to a house that leaned in all directions, of which the rats were very fond. We took the children to bed with us each night so that they would awaken with all fingers and toes each morning.

Next to men in uniform, the injustice wrought by the rent lobby falls heaviest on defense workers, and therefore on the defense effort. In all of our factories where defense contracts are pouring in, lack of housing is the greatest single reason for high labor turnover and the greatest block to the recruiting of new workers. The mayors of our industrial cities, Minneapolis, New Orleans, San Diego, Detroit, St. Louis and a score of others, have begged Congress to act, insisting that the housing shortage today is as bad as or worse than at any time during World War II.

In 1949, federal rent controls were turned over to the mercy of city councils in the belief that the housing short-

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age was ending and that landlords were suffering unduly. To advance this idea, the National Association of Real Estate Boards wired all its local organizations to parade before Congress "a few small property owners from around the country, a little bedraggled and run-down-at-the-heels looking." The trick worked. Today the NAREB proclaims that real estate is the greatest investment in America because values are soaring.

From June, 1949, to February, 1951, rents rose 20 percent in decontrolled cities. In Birmingham, after nine months of decontrol, 71 percent of renters pay 35 percent more, and 80 percent of those paying less than $130 pay 50 percent more. In Los Angeles rents are up 23 percent for all renters and 40 percent for those in lower income brackets. Thirty thousand families have been evicted within three months, and the courts have uncovered 2,000 illegal attempts to evict others. Today in Los Angeles moving companies can't handle the orders of families who are packing up and moving because they can't pay the increased rents.

The real-estate lobbies are throwing more funds than ever before into the present struggle. One organization alone, the Apartment Hotel and Motel Association of California, is raising a local fighting fund of $20,000 to kill all rent control. "A compromise rent-control bill or amendments must be ready for immediate introduction in Congress," it adds, "if it should appear certain that our first effort is going to fail. This bill must be in the hands of our friends in Congress at the right time to do any good."

"This association," its May newsletter continues, "forced Tighe Woods to decontrol Los Angeles as the result of the Babcock Action which we sponsored and financed and the Cain Amendment, the final form of which was drafted in the very words that this association suggested to Senator Cain. We are asking no more than a fraction of what most Los Angeles property owners have received in additional rents because this association caused your rents to be decontrolled."

That is what one landlords' organization is doing. In contrast, the tenants and the homeless of the US are unrepresented. The public-housing lobby in many cities has been infiltrated to an alarming degree by real-estate lobbyists. The incredible disclosures of the Buchanan committee have been wholly ignored by the press. "The American public," Tighe Woods told delegates to the Fifth National Convention of the American Veterans Committee, "is snoozing complacently . . : and while it drowses Washington is jam-packed with the lobbyists of every pressure group imaginable, gnawing away at Capitol Hill like a horde of pack rats to convince Congress to let the whole stabilization program die." One state, New Jersey, rounded up all its mayors and sent them to Washington. When they returned, the New Jersey delegation was pledged solidly to extend and strengthen rent controls. Other states are still asleep.

If we are serious about winning the war in Korea and preventing world war by prompt and adequate defense, we had better become serious about housing, the number one delinquency of our defense effort. A wholly new program is needed to replace the makeshift compromise of the Defense Housing Act. Defense demands allocations and priorities in housing, in place of today's credit regulations that permit new homes only for the rich. It demands a direct government program of low-cost housing for military forces and defense workers. It demands a minimum of 100,000 low-cost homes, which we can build and which even Senator Taft estimates as our minimum need. It means the restoration of federal rent controls so that rents may be frozen for as long as wages are frozen, that is, until the twin threats of war and inflation are beaten back.

THE WEEK

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

When the Clayton Act was passed in 1914, its clear and expressed intention was to prevent the use of interlocking directorates as a means of eliminating competition. The law was based on the premise that the control of separate corporations should not be concentrated in the hands of the same men because such concentrations of power would threaten and finally destroy competition. Although Section 8 of the Clayton Act provides that no man can serve as a director of more than one corporation with assets of more than $1 million, big business was quick to find a "loophole." Instead of assigning *directors* to other corporations, they named *officers*; instead of interlocking directly, they assigned directors of competing corporations to sit jointly on the board of directors of a bank; and they found advantage in interlocking relationships between suppliers and customers. (General Motors is today interlocked with 10 of the other 24 largest corporations, AT&T and Chase National Bank with nine of the largest 25, and Mutual Life Insurance and Metropolitan Life with eight.)

To close these loopholes, Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.) has introduced a bill which would prohibit any person from being an officer, director or employee of more than one corporation

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having total assets in excess of $60 million. Humphrey estimates the statute would affect one or more directors in 200 manufacturing and mining corporations and 25 retail corporations.

HIGH SCHOOLS FOR ALL

WILMINGTON, DEL. (NR corresp.)

A legal attack on Delaware's constitutional requirement of segregated public education has been started here in the US District Court, with two suits filed on behalf of Negro residents of the Newark and New Castle school districts.

The residents had sought admission of Negro pupils to high schools in two districts maintained exclusively for white children. There is no high school that Negroes may attend in either of the districts; Negro children from those areas must travel to Wilmington to go to high school.

The suits seek declarations that the state laws relating to segregation in education are unconstitutional and that denial of admission to Negro students is a violation of the equal protection clause of the US Constitution. They also ask that the defendants—members of the state and local boards of education—be enjoined from denying Negro students admission to the high schools in the districts.

TIMBER THREAT

The Englemann spruce beetle has already killed four-billion board feet of timber—enough timber to build 500,000 five-room frame houses—in the national forests in Colorado alone. Unless Congress grants the US Forest Service funds to continue its fight against the beetle, an additional 16-billion board feet of timber in Colorado, Wyoming and New Mexico may be destroyed. The Forest Service has asked for $3.75 million to carry on the beetle-control project this summer. The House Appropriations Committee scuttled the entire amount. A bill authorizing the expenditure is now pending in the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Attacking the beetles is a costly job, since it must be done by hand spraying. The insecticide must be carried in five-gallon cans by jeep, truck and horseback to the upper reaches of the Rocky Mountains and sprayed on the infested spruce trees. The insecticide does not save the tree, but it does kill billions of beetles that would go on to destroy other trees. The Forest Service estimates that the control job is somewhat less than half finished. Last year $2 million was spent to treat 900,000 infested trees. This will be wasted unless the job is continued.

TEXAS UNCONQUERED

AUSTIN, TEXAS (NR corresp.)

Gen. Douglas MacArthur came, was seen and didn't conquer. That, in brief, is the story of the four-day, six-city tour by the deposed UN commander who attracted a million Texans, more or less, to his parades but drew less than 100,000 to his five speaking dates.

If the General's backers, Republican, Dixiecrat or whatever, expected Texas political leaders to flock to his banner, they were sadly disappointed. The only Texans closely identified with his entire tour were oil millionaires, such as Glenn McCarthy and H. R. Cullen of Houston, who may control a lot of purse-strings but who control few votes. Houstonians rebuffed their two rich fellow citizens by filling only 10,000 to 20,000 of the 76,000 seats in Rice Stadium when the General spoke there.

Gov. Allan Shivers, a strong potential 1952 opponent for Sen. Tom Connally, the Senate Foreign Relations chief, made only one brief appearance with the General in Austin, where he performed his gubernatorial duty by introducing him. Other Democratic politicians felt about the same way. They listened to MacArthur but did not cuddle up to him or endorse his views. In Dallas and Fort Worth, however, the MacArthur-for-President Clubs persisted in whooping it up for him for 1952 despite public denial by Courtney Whitney that anyone was authorized to push the General for the Presidency. Fulton Lewis Jr., the radio commentator, who went to Texas for the MacArthur show, advocated to private groups that the Republicans nominate MacArthur and Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia for President and Vice-president—and let the Southern Democrats do the same. Working together, he said, the two groups could win the election.

INJUSTICE IN TRENTON

The famous Trenton murder case has ended—temporarily, let us hope—in another shocking miscarriage of justice. A jury of six men and six women have set four of the six Negro defendants free, for which we should be thankful; but they have condemned two others to life imprisonment at hard labor although there was no more real evidence connecting them with the crime than in the case of the other four—which is to say, none at all. It was open gossip in Trenton that the jury rendered its verdict after wrangling for 20 hours, as a compromise between about half the members who wanted to find all six defendants innocent, and half who wanted to find them all guilty. The case will be appealed to a higher court, and it is hoped that if the verdict there is unfavorable, it can go to the Supreme Court.

The two men now found guilty, Collis English and Ralph Cooper, were not even the two accused by the state of having actually committed the crime. (Only three Negroes entered the store of William Horner, who was killed, and no one has explained why the Trenton police, zealous because Trenton was having a crime wave and they were being denounced in the daily papers, picked up three other Negroes as well.) English was cashing a veteran's disability check in another part of the city at the time of the murder; Cooper said he was at the home of a girl friend, and knew of a C.O.D. package delivered there by a mailman at about that time. Five of the six defendants were questioned almost continuously by the police for four days and five nights, and their "confessions," including those of Cooper and English which were admitted in testimony at the trial just ended, were obtained under these circumstances, and subsequently repudiated.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

BEHIND IRELAND'S ELECTION

Ireland has come a long way since the terrible times of foreign rule, absentee landlordism, rack rents, land seizures, famine and starvation. But even in recent years the three classic sowers of misery have still stalked most of the countryside: there have been poverty, ignorance and illness. Men, women and children have fought disease without the knowledge of modern methods of prevention, care and treatment that might have helped them. Men have struggled for a bare living. Women have lost babies before they ever got a chance for even such a living. The incidence of tuberculosis has been high. Though the level of infant mortality has been going down slowly, it has remained far higher than it need be.

Five years ago when Eamon de Valera was still Taoiseach and his Fianna Fail ruled the land, a health act was adopted. The frame of reference of the law was large: it had to be, to make even a good start toward coping with the problems of disease and health education. But de Valera went out of power before any kind of start was made. The task of putting the law into effect went to John Costello, whose Fine Gael won the general election of 1948, with the help of Sean McBride's Clann na Poblactha, the Labor Party and the Farmers' Party.

The man chosen to do the job was Dr. Noel C. Browne, who represented McBride's Republicans in the Cabinet as Minister of Health. The doctor, a man of vision and courage, attacked the problem hard and on a broad scale. He stuck up anti-tuberculosis posters all over the country and carried out a vigorous campaign of direct popular education to spread knowledge of hygiene in places and among people woefully ignorant of the most elementary aspects of public health. Hospitals were improved, sanatoria built. Studies were made of the incidence of disease and the appropriate methods of treatment.

Many doctors, particularly the well-entrenched and the old-fashioned, questioned the whole idea of the Health Act. Social medicine in any form was to them a violation of the Irish "tradition." They disapproved of Dr. Browne's method of going to the people directly rather than through them, though it was plain that they themselves hadn't got very far; and they complained that his plans were far too ambitious. But the Minister of Health had the support not only of the government but also of labor and a large majority of the population. In less than three years, the death rate from tuberculosis was showing a promising decline.

Then, at the start of this year, Dr. Browne broadened his field of action: he tackled the problem of reducing the infant-mortality level. In March he launched a mother-and-child scheme. This was based in general on the methods and experience of the British Health Service, which aims to give care and advice to women during and after pregnancy, and a hospital bed for every mother in childbirth.

Dr. Browne was aware that the extension of his work would meet with even more resistance than did his campaign against tuberculosis. He was right. A hue and cry went up from the diehards that good old traditionalist Ireland was being made to hold onto the coattails of the alien British. This, the reactionaries said, was yielding to the Welfare State aberration, and invasion by the state authority of the "sacredness of family life." Much of the opposition came from within the Fianna Fail which, though authoritarian, accepts only de Valera's personal brand.

Dr. Browne, however, thought he had enough support in the government and from a sufficient number of progressive and independent-minded doctors. More important, after consultation with persons he considered competent to decide, he thought he had the authorization, or at least the *nulla osta*, of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland.

In this he was wrong. The reactionaries ganged up against him. His support in the government and also in his own party fell away. The reason became plain only after he had been forced to give his "resignation." Dr. Browne felt that the large numbers of men and women who had supported him in his work were entitled to an explanation. So, after he left the government and the Clann na Poblactha, he sent a blistering letter to McBride and made public the correspondence that had preceded his ouster. This showed that the Roman Catholic hierarchy had condemned as "contrary to Catholic moral teaching" the scheme to help mothers and cut down infant mortality. The Irish press handled the controversy with kid gloves. But in England, even the non-Labour and the anti-Labour press told the full story.

But the dismissal of the Minister of Health broke up McBride's party and, by cutting away some of the ground on which Costello's coalition government stood, forced a new general election. Since few dared to talk about the real issue, there had to be an ersatz issue that would suggest, without openly asking, the defeat of a champion of modern education for health. This was whether or not the voters would return to power de Valera, whose Fianna Fail didn't like Mr. Browne's new-fangled notions.

The voters didn't choose de Valera. They gave his party only one more seat in the Fail, and the total of 69 is well below a majority. Nor did Costello win a clear majority. Though his Fine Gael climbed from 29 to 40 seats, the coalition total is only 64; and the greatest loss was that of McBride's party, which fell from 10 seats in 1948 to only two.

Thus the electorate handed the balance of power to 14 independents who include Dr. Browne and his three followers, Dr. Michael French O'Carroll, John McQuillan and Captain Peter Cowan. In view of the circumstances, the result of the election in one of the most rigidly "clerical" countries on earth is scarcely a moral victory for the principle that "Catholic moral teaching" must stand in the way of practical modern methods of reducing infant mortality.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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KOREA
TRIAL & ACHIEVEMENT

WHEN CAPTAIN JAMES JABARA, the leading pilot of the United Nations in Korea, landed back in the United States, he was greeted first by a reporter from his home-town of Wichita, Kans. The reporter asked: "Why are we fighting in Korea?" Jabara answered: "So that we won't have to fight in Wichita."

For every front-line soldier far from home, Jabara's answer stands as a statement of our purpose in the first United Nations' war. One year ago, when aggression struck in that land of which we knew nothing, the single fabric of world peace was torn; the protector of peace—the United Nations—faced a critical challenge. The UN was in no position to strike back. Yet, failure to act would have meant tearing up the collective-security concept of the UN Charter just as surely as Russia was trying to tear up its renunciation of war. Failure to act would have ensured the triumph of Communist aggression in Korea and opened the way to further aggression against Japan, South Asia, the Near East, Yugoslavia and all nations.

The United Nations did not fail. Instead the United States, which alone could lead the UN into action, proved her leadership, and the UN banner was raised.

Since that historic day, June 25, 1950, many mistakes have been made, many illusions broken, many lives lost, many bitter words spoken. But mistakes cannot obscure, or loss of lives nullify, the simple lasting truth that at a critical hour the United Nations faced the challenge and acted in a spirit of imperishable glory.

The United Nations in this year survived a time of overconfidence when one man's rashness was offset only by the desperate bravery of trapped and exhausted soldiers. It survived a time in the Pusan perimeter when its supreme commander counseled acceptance of defeat. Communists, neutralists, isolationists and a few wise men joined in a chorus of defeatism, crying *give up*! Some raised the cry out of hatred for democracy, some out of scorn for the UN, some out of fear that no limited war could remain limited for very long. All have been proved wrong by the endurance of the Koreans, the solidarity of the UN, the mature wisdom and common sense of Americans who have steadily refused to give in to counsels of hysteria or of despair.

One year later the cutting edge of Communist morale has been blunted; the strength of the free nations is mounting; the United Nations through self-reform has strengthened itself to act promptly if aggression should strike again. The indecision which encouraged aggression and the lack of confidence which encouraged extremism are ending. In that sense we are closer to peace.

Yet there is no end in sight in Korea. Even if the fighting dies down, it may be that no final settlement is possible in Korea short of a general settlement which at best may be years away.

No easy solution is valid. No honest analysis is conclusive. Three assertions alone can be advanced in the belief that they are right.

First, *we are fighting a limited war in Korea for limited objectives.* We must never take the initiative in widening the war to an unlimited war. We must not force our enemy to take the initiative by extending our objectives in Korea to unlimited objectives. China's unconditional surrender in Korea is one such unlimited objective that can be won only by unlimited war.

Second, *the UN's obligations in Korea far outlast the war.* Beside the casualties of Korean soldiers and the sacrifice of Korean civilians the price paid by other nations to uphold the UN is small. We shall pave the road to new wars if we discount Korea's immeasurable

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In this special issue on the first anniversary of the Korean War, the section, "Setback for Aggression," is written by Thomas R. Phillips, Brigadier-General, USA (Retired), a contributor to many military and general periodicals; the section, "Advance for the United Nations," is by Raymond Dennett, Director of the World Peace Foundation, Boston; other sections by Michael Straight.

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effort with a penny-pinching relief program. For all other nations facing aggression, though they support the UN, will judge its principles in the light of the treatment accorded those whose land has been ruined so that principle may prevail.

Third, *we can give full meaning to the Korean effort only by carrying the UN forward from the new strength it has won.*

The United Nations was weak at the start of the Korean War, far too weak to assess its members for troops or supplies in its cause. It called for voluntary efforts, and 14 nations made substantial efforts in response. The great majority of overseas forces, about 350,000 out of 400,000 men, have come from the US. Some Americans see that not as our success but as the collapse of our Allies. They insist that the UN has failed, that the Allies have proved worthless, that we should give up the UN and "go it alone."

It is true that we led in a common struggle in Korea. For a mature people leadership is a cause not for resentment of others but for pride in ourselves. We should rejoice in the knowledge that as history accords to Britain a place unchallenged for her stand in 1940 so it will recognize with gratitude our response when at another critical time our turn came. That we have borne a heavy responsibility should fill us not with contempt for the cause we led but with new pride in the record of the UN and new confidence in its future.

That future is held, and will be won, by men who sleep on the hard earth of Korea and fight through its heat and snow. They take the risks. They pay the price. If we, in the safety of our homes, are to urge them on, we must do more than wait to welcome them home with showers of ticker tape that announce rising prices and new threats to peace. They are the first heroes of the United Nations, and they deserve far more. For them as for the Athenians "there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it except that of the heart." Hearts cold with indifference and selfishness, or spent in sterile laments, are of no use to them. Our task is to work here and now so that those who return and the families of those who do not may live out their days in tolerance and opportunity and peace.

SETBACK FOR AGGRESSION

KOREA IS the back door to the Soviet Empire. So long as South Korea remained free, it appeared to Soviet strategists to be a point of re-entry to the Asiatic mainland for the West. A Korea with Western connections further decreased the value of Soviet bases at Port Arthur, Dairen and Vladivostok. It was desirable for Stalin to close this door before commencing other aggressions in the West.

The Soviet scheme to eliminate this Western hold on Asia was first to keep Korea divided until unification under Communist domination could be effected. The Soviet Union agreed to a free and independent Korea in November, 1943, at Cairo. Again at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers at Moscow in December, 1945, Russia approved the formation of a Joint Commission "to work out measures for . . . the development of democratic self-government and the establishment of the national independence of Korea."

The work of the commission was hampered throughout its existence by the well-known Soviet tactics of obstruction and delay. The end result, as Soviet strategy intended, was a divided Korea with a Communist government in the North and a democratic government in the South.

Soviet forces were withdrawn in the last quarter of 1948. A Communist revolt in South Korea was suppressed in October, 1948. In December, 1948, a Soviet military mission was sent to organize the North Korean Army. It was to consist of a shock force of six infantry divisions and two armored divisions built on a nucleus of five Korean divisions in the Chinese Manchurian Army, a maneuvering force of eight well-trained and well-equipped divisions, and a reserve force of eight divisions which was to have 10 months' training. The force was to be ready by the end of June, 1950. The Soviet advisers planned the campaign down to the details of supply without air cover.

This force should easily have been able to overcome the 15 South Korean regiments which we had organized, equipped with light weapons and trained for internal security use.

The aggression commenced on schedule on June 25, 1950. The schedule went awry two days later when United Nations forces intervened, and the Red effort has never got back on the tracks. Arms intended for the Communist revolt in French Indo-China have been diverted to Korea. Correction of the Yugoslav defection has had to be postponed. But worst of all, from the Soviet point of view, the Western world, which had been talking of rearmament on a 10-year basis, commenced massive rearmament in response to Korea and in consequence will have forces large enough to deter

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aggression in Europe organized and equipped by the end of 1952.

Probably no group of men was more surprised than the members of the Politburo when the United Nations acted against North Korean aggression. The correction of what appeared to them to be a secondary strategic weakness turned into a major disaster. The entire free world wakened and commenced to arm in self-defense. Arms aid to Europe was multiplied. The United States increased her armed forces by two million men. Even though an extra 200,000 to 300,000 men are tied down in Korea, the net increase in available US forces exceeds 1.5 million; that is a serious setback to Soviet plans. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which had been only a paper proposal, was given life; a Supreme Commander was appointed and definite forces placed under his command.

The truth is that Korea has probably saved the West from the creeping conquest of Soviet imperialism.

There has been too much talk of the strategic disadvantages of large-scale action in Korea. The fact is that if we had deliberately chosen a spot to resist Soviet aggression, none better than Korea could have been found. Substantial US forces were near. The narrow peninsula and the long supply lines confined the operations to a small area and limited the forces the enemy could bring to bear. The Air Force and the Navy particularly could operate under favorable conditions. Our command of the sea and the coasts simplified our logistic problem while that of the enemy was magnified by the limited network of roads and railroads.

At the same time the central significance of United Nations action in Korea is moral. The West has refused further appeasement, has taken a stand and fought aggression. Even if UN forces had been required to evacuate Korea, the entire world would have been put on notice that further attempts at aggression would lead to war. Physically, the loss of Korea would have been of minor importance and would not have minimized the moral effect of the effort we made.

From the Soviet point of view, the moral effect was as unfavorable as it was heartening to the West. Two other states, Germany and Austria, have been kept divided in the hope of eventual Soviet conquest. The enslaved populations of these countries were given new hope, and the possibility of ultimate freedom approached an assurance. The unhappy satellites, held in subjection by secret police directed by Soviet commissars, could dream of liberation. Failure in Korea can be the turning point which will halt Soviet expansion and start the disintegration of the entire edifice of the satellite states.

The failure of the North Korean troops to conquer the Republic posed a new war for the Soviet just as surely as Chinese intervention did for MacArthur. What promises were made to China if she would pull the Korean chestnuts out of the fire we do not know. Had the North Koreans succeeded, all Korea would have become a Soviet satellite. Had the Chinese succeeded, she would have become a Chinese satellite. Now that the Chinese cannot succeed, how are they to be rewarded?

Why the Chinese thought they could overcome the UN forces is one of the major mysteries of the times. They commenced, it is true, with great success achieved through surprise. But so did the Japanese. And the Japanese were a far stronger military power than the Chinese are likely ever to become. The Japanese overran China easily, using second-line troops, and profited from the invasion. But the United States out-fought the Japanese while two-thirds of our effort was being devoted to the war in Europe.

Fighting in Korea, we have gained benefits to offset our losses. The Eighth Army and its supporting air and naval arms have become the most effective fighting force we have ever had. For training for war can be real only under battle conditions. Tough training, maneuvers, use of live ammunition are poor substitutes for the reality. The rotation home of men experienced in Korea to help train inexperienced units will spread a new effectiveness through all the services.

Our unified command has proved itself. The techniques of air support, naval co-operation and the welding of teams of all arms and services have been carried out to a degree far greater than at any time in the past.

Nor are the troops in Korea tied down there in case of a general war. Korea would have to be given up if a general war occurred before peace was made. Our Korean forces, since they are fully equipped and trained, could be moved to a new theater more rapidly than could less-ready forces from the United States.

The Korean War has seen changes in fortune more rapid than in any war in modern history. It has flowed back and forth. The first phase extended from the delaying action toward the Pusan beachhead to the amphibious landing at Inchon. The second phase comprised the movement north in an effort to liberate all of Korea. The third phase covered the first Chinese offensive which commenced November 26 and lasted until January 14.

Our counter-offensive commenced with our movement north after the union of the troops evacuated from Hungnam with the Eighth Army and the recapture of Seoul. This was followed by the second Chinese offensive which commenced April 22 and was broken in our great defensive victory of May 23. Our counter-

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offensive followed immediately and still continues. It can be expected to reach the line of open ground running northeast from the Imjin River valley, close to the 38th Parallel north of Seoul, to the port of Wonsan. This line is only a little more than 100 miles in length and contains the best defensive and maneuver terrain in North Korea. The United Nations forces can hold it indefinitely against any attack. It is also a good jumping-off point for further offensive operations.

It is unlikely that the Chinese will make a third offensive try. General Van Fleet's strategy points the way to our ultimate victory. Another such battle as that which is now reaching its end and we shall be holding the aces with which to negotiate from strength. It will not be the kind of victory that General MacArthur gambled for when he scattered his forces on a 350-mile front in North Korea. Neither will this strategy risk the disaster which so nearly befell MacArthur when he guessed wrong about Chinese intentions.

There are two conditions peculiar to the war in Korea which determine the course being followed. One is the limited theater of operations. Korea is shaped like an inverted capital L. The base is about 500 miles long from south to north and varies in width from 100 to 150 miles. The top is about 430 miles from east to west and varies in depth from 75 to 100 miles.

The United Nations forces are large enough to operate in security across the leg on fronts of from 100 to 150 miles. They are not large enough to operate along the boundaries of Manchuria and Siberia, which run for 500 miles. Consequently, military operations with present United Nations forces cannot be extended north of the leg into the top of Korea without being so dispersed that they would be endangered again as they were when General MacArthur drove to the Yalu.

Another consideration which limits the movement north is the desire to maintain Red supply lines at least 100 miles long as targets for our bombers. We, alas, wish to keep the war out of South Korea. This leaves an area of about 100 miles north and south and 125 miles east and west in which to fight. This is the checkerboard on which General Van Fleet can move and on which he must devise tactics and strategy to annihilate the Red Chinese and North Korean forces.

The second peculiar condition is the disparity of strength and difference in armament of the opposing forces. The United Nations ground forces are inferior in numbers but heavily armed, amply supplied with artillery, strongly supported from the air and highly mobile on roads. The Red forces are more numerous, lightly armed and highly mobile cross-country. The tactical problem which General Van Fleet has had to solve is how to force the Reds to fight under conditions in which we can use our superior machine-power to compensate for the enemy's superior manpower. That he has solved his problem is proved by the present operations. The second Chinese offensive was broken against our defensive dispositions. Massive use of artillery played the major role. The Chinese were cut up and disorganized, reduced so far that our smaller forces were able to attack and pursue.

The hard facts of geography will prevent the United Nations forces from going north much beyond the 39th Parallel, approximately the general line of Pyongyang to Wonsan. This must be the limit of our military success. Such success could result in a stalemate. But there would also be a stalemate along the Manchurian border if we were able to fight that far north.

But a temporary stalemate is no cause for gloom. Our objective is not territorial; it is the destruction of the hostile force. We shall win on the line devised by our commanders in Korea. We stand on the verge of victory. This is no time for faint hearts. Barring intervention by the Soviet Union or the appearance of large air and mechanized forces, the issue is no longer in doubt.

ADVANCE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

Since June, 1950, when 53 nations endorsed action to repel aggression in Korea, 14 nations have sent military units to Korea and nearly 30 have provided material aid. This is a remarkable record, made even more unusual by the fact that the military action has thwarted the ambitions of a great power, a development which few at San Francisco would have visualized. It was assumed there that the price of military action against one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, or their satellites, would be the breakup of the United Nations.

At San Francisco, it was intended that through the UN Charter the great powers would join in common action to suppress wars among minor nations. They were to act through a functioning Military Staff Committee under the Security Council. This committee would have at its disposal contingents of national forces made available to it by special agreements signed between the United Nations and its members. The committee would, in pursuance of an appropriate resolution by the Security Council, utilize these national contingents to re-establish

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international peace and security in accordance with strategic plans drawn up by the military authorities. Since the Military Staff Committee was to be composed of the chiefs of staff, or their deputies, of the five permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, the United Kingdom, France, China and the Soviet Union —it was clear from the outset that these forces could not be used against a great power or a great power's satellite because of the veto. It was a complicated and cumbersome method of stopping wars between small states, but it could never have been used to prevent wars between large ones. The Military Staff Committee, after a year of fruitless bickering as to whether the troops to be provided by the Big Five were to be assigned on the basis of "equivalent" or "identical" contributions, lapsed into a paper organization and has not been heard from since. There were no military forces available to the United Nations a year ago; there were no strategic plans; the Charter provisions were a complete dead letter.

Under these circumstances, how did the United Nations act at all? All military action during the past year has come as the result of five governing resolutions, two adopted by the Security Council in June, 1950, and three by the General Assembly in the intervening months. On June 25, 1950, the Security Council determined that the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by North Korean authorities constituted a breach of the peace, and called for the cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal of North Korean authorities and assistance from all members of the United Nations in the execution of the resolution. Two days later, the Security Council, in the light of reports from the United Nations Commission for Korea that the North Korean authorities had neither ceased hostilities nor withdrawn their armed forces to the 38th Parallel, recommended "that the members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area." These are the only steps—except for a resolution on Korean relief—taken by the Security Council during the entire Korean affair. Yet they resulted in placing a United Nations army in the field.

Two points should, perhaps, be noted. The first is the obvious one that neither of these resolutions could have been adopted except for the historical accident of the absence of the Soviet Union from the Council table. The second, and far more significant for the future development of the United Nations, is that the Security Council limited itself to a recommendation when, under the Charter, it could have done much more. A mere recommendation brought into being collective forces to repel aggression and, among other things, pointed the way to the Acheson Plan by which the General Assembly, in case the Security Council is stalled by the veto, can make similar recommendations under similar circumstances. If the free world rose once in response to a recommendation, it presumably can rise again.

The other three resolutions bearing on Korea were enacted by the General Asembly. The first, adopted on October 7, 1950, sketched in broad terms what the Assembly wanted in Korea at the conclusion of hostilities and bore only indirectly upon military action, so indirectly, indeed, that one must recall that General MacArthur's forces were nearing the 38th Parallel during the first week in October to read any military directions into the resolution at all. The Assembly, recalling that its essential objective was the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea, recommended that "all appropriate steps be taken to ensure conditions of stability throughout Korea" and that "all constituent acts be taken, including the holding of elections, under the auspices of the United Nations, for the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government in the sovereign State of Korea." Crossing the 38th Parallel, in short, could be justified either as an "appropriate step" to ensure stability or a "constituent act" to establish a unified government. In either case, the phrases probably qualify as the most subtle military directive ever issued.

The other two Assembly resolutions were passed after the intervention by the Chinese Communist forces. The first, passed on February 1, 1951, found that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China by engaging in hostilities against United Nations forces had "itself engaged in aggression in Korea." This was, in the opinion of the Department of State, a necessary preliminary to the final resolution approved in May authorizing the imposition of an embargo against Communist China.

The fact that, so far as Korea is concerned, this is the total record of formal United Nations action bearing on the conduct of hostilities leads to certain rather clear resolutions. The first is that the members of the United Nations were quite willing to leave the actual course of military operations to the field commander—General MacArthur—with only the most vague limitations upon his actions. It was obviously expected that the nation assuming primary military responsibility, the United States, would also assume primary tactical and strategic responsibility which should not be hampered by detailed directives which might prove too restrictive. It is true that the Secretary-General of the United Nations had a military representative attached to General MacArthur's staff, but his function was rather that of providing Mr. Lie with independent information than

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that of providing MacArthur with tactical or strategic advice.

The second conclusion to be drawn from the record is that the General Assembly has, in fact, been able to take effective initiative when the Security Council was unable to act. The Assembly indirectly authorized the crossing of the 38th Parallel, directly branded the Chinese Communists as aggressors, and effectively authorized an embargo. In so doing, it followed, interestingly enough, in the path of the League of Nations for there, too, it was the Assembly rather than the Council which in the end took what action was taken in the case of Manchuria and Ethiopia. The League of Nations Assembly, however, had concurrent jurisdiction over disputes with the League Council; the General Assembly, under the Charter, had no such power. This would indicate that the United Nations is capable of adjusting to new situations by creating new mechanisms; it is not narrowly confined to sterile procedures outlined in a Charter considered as inviolate despite a new and unexpected political environment. There is no reason to fear that the United Nations does not have the methods by which it can act in case of aggression in Iran, or Indo-China, or even in Kashmir. The Charter has, in fact, been amended in practice.

Unfortunately, this is not the whole story. Possession of adequate means does not guarantee that the means will be used. A decision to act requires both a will to act—which the free world apparently has—and a confidence that the nation chosen to lead, the United States, will act wisely and with restraint. On this point, United States action in Korea has created many reservations among our Allies which may have a bearing on what the United Nations will do in the future and how far its members will be willing again to delegate executive leadership to one country.

The purpose of United Nations action in Korea has been "to restore international peace and security." Restoration assumes a settlement, and a settlement assumes an agreement. Paralleling its ambiguous military directives, the General Assembly has also been active in seeking a resolution of the Korean "police action." First through the three-member committee headed by Mr. Entezam of Iran, President of the Fifth Session, and subsequently through the efforts of the Cease Fire Committee, a series of efforts have been made to negotiate a settlement. It is certainly fair to say that to some of our Allies the United States has appeared at times as a runaway horse with a bit in its mouth. At a recent private conference between Canadians and Americans, held under the auspices of the World Peace Foundation, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, a Canadian delegate became quite specific. The United States, he charged, had changed her position several times on Formosa, had blown hot and cold on the question of the admission of Chinese Communists to the United Nations, had apparently given and then violated an understanding that if the United Nations approved a crossing of the 38th Parallel the United States would not move to the Yalu. Preoccupation with the immediate, he added, served to befog the future. However strong domestic pressures might be, in his eyes they had served to create a rigidity in American foreign policy which made negotiation for a settlement in Korea difficult indeed; yet Korea was not the main theater in which Communism was to be vanquished. There would be small gain to the free world or to the United Nations if the limited resources of our Allies were expended in a minor engagement when they might better be concentrated upon the protection of Western Europe.

There can be little doubt that this feeling of the Canadians is shared by other members of the United Nations. There is no question that the initiative of the United States on June 25, 1950, carried in its wake a profound and important upsurge of relief and gratitude across the face of the free world that we had the courage of our convictions. It is equally true that events have modified that enthusiasm. We received 53 favorable votes on intervention in June, 1950; the resolution branding the Chinese Communists aggressors passed in January, 1951, by a vote of 44 to 7, only four more than the required two-thirds. This is, by any standard, a narrow margin, indicating the need for closer coordination and more political education within our alliance.

The United Nations has stopped aggression in Korea. In so doing it has delayed the timetable of Soviet expansion and created new machinery by which the deadly frustrations of the veto can be avoided. The United Nations has, therefore, been strengthened during the last year. It is important, however, that we do not confuse ourselves and think that because we have assumed leadership under the auspices of the United Nations we can, by that token, lead the United Nations wherever we may wish to go. The murmurs of support among some Asian delegations for General Albert Wedemeyer's recommendation that the UN withdraw from Korea at its moment of greatest military strength, the further indications that these delegations would settle for a return to the status quo ante in Korea with all its implicit threats of renewed aggression indicate that they still do not accept the concept of collective security which is the key to peace.

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WHAT CHANCE FOR PEACE?

WHEN the Security Council summoned the UN members to action, it called on them "to repel the armed attack and to restore peace and security in the area." Victory means the attainment of those objectives.

The armed attack was repelled when the UN drove back to the 38th Parallel. Nowhere had the UN added that its political objective of unifying Korea should be carried out by military means. Secretary Trygve Lie declared however that peace could not be restored in the area by a halt at the 38th Parallel. With the concurrence of the UN Assembly, UN forces advanced until the Chinese joined the aggressors.

From June 25 on, President Truman, Ambassador Austin and Secretary Acheson repeatedly affirmed that we had no desire to remain in Korea and no intention of violating Chinese sovereignty. The impulsive and questionable action taken by President Truman in neutralizing Formosa was offset as far as it could be by continued insistence that this action was only temporary. The Security Council, in a resolution of November 10, 1950, voted by nine to one, and vetoed by Russia, reaffirmed the determination of the UN "to hold the Chinese frontier with Korea inviolate and fully to protect legitimate Chinese and Korean interests in the frontier zone." What hope there was that these assurances might have swayed China and Russia were undermined by the irresponsible and brazen pronouncements of General MacArthur whose proclamation that the Pacific was an American lake was seized upon by Soviet and Chinese leaders as an expression of America's real intentions.

As the Chinese Armies advanced, the UN proposed a Negotiating Committee including Communist China to settle the dispute. Thirteen Arab and Asian nations went further in proposing discussions leading to a general settlement by a group of nations in which those sharing the US views were in a minority. The UN Good Offices Committee outlined the terms of a cease-fire agreement followed by discussions on all outstanding disputes.

All these proposals were wholly condemned by the Chinese Communists. The Good Offices Committee and all UN agencies were denounced by the Communist Premier Chou En-lai as "illegal, null and void" because they were created without the participation or approval of Communist China.

The terms of peace set by the Chinese Communists were fourfold:

1. All foreign troops must be withdrawn from Korea.
2. Korean affairs must be settled by the Koreans.
3. The US must withdraw from Formosa.
4. Communist China must be seated in the UN.

Since the Communists at that moment were then well down in South Korea, the first and second points amounted to a complete Communist victory.

On January 2, the Good Offices Committee of the UN restated its proposed peace terms. They included:

1. A cease-fire order on both sides.
2. A demilitarized zone 20 miles in depth whose Southern limit would follow the 38th Parallel.
3. Supervision by a UN commission with "free and unlimited access to the whole of Korea" to see that no reinforcement of troops by either side took place.

These steps were to be followed by discussion of a general settlement.

Once again the Chinese Communists rejected outright all these proposals as "illegal and null and void." All further efforts have met no sign of response.

Throughout this time there has clearly been no basis for a settlement. The US rightly refused to accede to Chinese entry into the UN as the price of a Korean settlement. The Chinese Communists with some justification refused to rely on our good faith in conceding their claims in later discussions after the war's end. While the incentive to end the war grew as stalemate developed, the US Government in the course of the MacArthur debate raised its terms for settlement by reversing itself on the use of the veto to block the Chinese Communists in the UN, and by minimizing the hopes of a transfer of power on Formosa.

Nonetheless, if a settlement can be made on Korea alone, the January 2 proposals of the Good Offices Committee stand. Whether or not the settlement is made at the 38th Parallel or further north, free and unlimited access of the UN in North Korea, for observation purposes, is the minimum guarantee against renewed aggression that could lead to the evacuation of UN troops.

If these terms were acceptable the dangers would still be great. No guarantee could prevent the massing of Chinese and North Korean troops behind the Chinese border. No effective sanctions could prevent unauthorized action by the Republic of Korea Army. A renewed division of Korea would outrage the burning patriotism of the Korean people.

These disadvantages, in the belief of most UN nations, would be outweighed by the gains of a truce. If they

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are right, we should go on offering these terms without at any time threatening a widening of the conflict if they are turned down. For the Chinese are not susceptible to mere threat, and the chance of their acceptance seems slight.

Until there is proof that a settlement can be signed, the best policy for the UN may be to set out on a long-range program of reconstructing the Republic, as it exists behind the front, on the assumption that there will be no well-defined transition from war to peace. Written or unwritten, a Korean settlement will reflect the relative strength of both sides. To continue the conflict indefinitely goes against the grain of all Westerners who respect order and long for peace. But since the problems raised in Korea may be insoluble in the absence of a general settlement, and since a general settlement may be impossible today, a silent one may prove to be the compromise that leads to eventual peace.

THE CHALLENGE OF RECONSTRUCTION

WHETHER or not a peace settlement is possible in Korea there will be no clear dividing line between war and peace. The first point to establish on reconstruction is that in Korea war and reconstruction are not two separate tasks. War is beyond the capacity of Korea's exhausted economy to endure unaided. Reconstruction is an immediate task, to be carried out now, under fire.

In the days before China entered the war, this was clearly not so. If one thing was clear, it was that neither the forces of the Republic nor those of North Korea could withstand more than a few months of war. Reconstruction was a separate task, and the issue was whether it should be carried out by the United States or by the United Nations. At that time, for obvious reasons, the drift of our policy was away from the United Nations as an agency administering economic aid. There was a US mission in Korea administering a $90 million reconstruction program. It was a makeshift program because the future of Korea was uncertain. It was a short-range program because the ECA was nearing its end. There were strong arguments for maintaining the ECA in Korea, and it was a tribute to US vision that we led in bringing the UN back in place of the ECA as the permanent agency for helping Korea after the war.

In October the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency was established as an autonomous body with broad powers. A budget of $250 million was adopted by the UN General Assembly, and 43 countries offered $225 million in aid. The United States share of $162.5 million is still to be appropriated by Congress.

Meanwhile, the war has lengthened, and there is no end in sight. Shortages of ships, docks and railroads have fused the problems of civil and military requirements. The continuation of the war has brought to the forefront Korea's underlying economic needs. Under the Unified Command, relief and reconstruction have been taken over by the United Nations Civil Assistance Command of the Eighth Army. Its teams in every province are recruited by the UN. Its central direction is under military personnel. The traditional approach of the military to reconstruction has been limited to the prevention of disease and unrest since these directly affect military operations. The UNCAC has broadened that approach. In preventing disease the UNCAC has immunized more than four million Korean civilians against major contagious diseases.

To prevent unrest the UNCAC has brought 146,000 tons of food and 20,000 tons of clothing into Korea. In providing for more than minimum needs it has been limited by lack of port facilities in a nation with few good harbors and by lack of inland transportation, since roads are poor and railroads are overburdened by military needs. Nonetheless $38 million of UNCAC's $123 million of expenditures represents "common-use" items; that is, rails for railroads, cranes for harbors, generators and power barges for cities and marshaling yards, all serving Korean and UN military and civilian needs.

The UNCAC's share of our proposed current military budget is $50 million. More will be asked for in deficiency appropriations if the war continues. At the same time, the $162.5 million requested can, if it is approved, be spent during the war by the UNKRA or the UNCAC. This division of functions, while it is logical, raises problems from now on and may provide an excuse for isolationists and penny-pinchers in Congress to cut down on reconstruction funds.

Any such action today would be disastrous. The need in Korea is for more, not less, aid. The ECA program has run out. Reserves held in Korea at the beginning of the war have been exhausted. So far starvation has been avoided. But prices have risen sixfold in Korea since July, 1950. One contributing factor is the inability of the Korean Government to budget its needs; another is the huge sums paid out by UN forces in local currency in employing Korean labor. But the basic reason for inflation is war itself and the complete absence of consumption goods on which the large

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amount of money now in circulation can be spent. Inflation on this scale is ruinous. The only way to check inflation is to bring in consumption goods to Korea in large volume. The only way that can be done, in competition with military imports, is by the most careful planning of Korea's over-all needs.

That planning should be done by the Korean Government. But 40 years of Japanese rule cannot be repaired overnight. The Japanese maintained Korea as a colony and denied to Koreans all access to managerial jobs. The handful of qualified men trained since Japan's defeat have been scattered by the war. Administration of economic aid, which if it is adequate will involve a larger amount than the national income of Korea, is by far the largest task of government. Given the weakness of the Korean Government the question arises, should aid from now on be administered by the US or the UN, and under civil or military direction?

As long as the war flows back and forth, the Army has a strong case in insisting on centralized control. The Eighth Army recognizes however that as soon as possible, and beginning now in communities far from the front, reconstruction should pass to civilian hands.

The reasons for that transfer are many. The Army's formula of preventing disease and unrest in Korea is too narrow. The Army is not trained to direct a long-range recovery program which combines aid with price control, tax reform, land reform and the use of counterpart funds for social ends. Yet that is the kind of program which Korea will increasingly need. In addition military government is unpopular because of the legacy of Japan and also because of the record of our Military Government after 1945. The fact that MacArthur took little interest in Korea and that military operations are run from the home of Korea's traditional enemy, Japan, are further reasons for distrust. Most important of all, the role of a recovery program is to help establish a competent, stable and representative civil government in Korea. The task of strengthening the Korean Government without running it is not suited to military procedures. The job of training and assisting new civilian leaders is one which civilian advisers can do best.

One way in which the UNKRA can be given present responsibility would be to organize a team of advisers on civil administration to work with the Korean Government. A second function would be the operation of community pilot projects in regions far removed from the front lines. A third vital role for the UNKRA today is in the preparation of detailed economic and social plans for reconstruction, to take effect in stages as the transportation shortage eases. If, as we assume, the transition from war through stalemate to peace in Korea will be almost imperceptible, now is the time to initiate reconstruction efforts on a long-range basis.

Any such program requires a clearer picture than we possess now of the kind of society Koreans want in the future, and their place in the world.

The Japanese developed Korea into a highly concentrated region of production whose economy was geared entirely to Japan's. Korean factories were supplied with materials from Japan's co-prosperity sphere. They produced semi-finished manufactures for use in Japan. The severing of Korea from Japan left these factories ill-equipped for domestic needs. The division of Korea split the coal mines, power stations and fertilizer factories of the North from the processing plants, textile mills and farms of the South.

War of course has produced far worse distortions. The North Korean Armies have stripped the mills and factories of central Korea of their spindles and machine tools. The fighting has destroyed major industrial areas in Inchon and Seoul. Bombing has left little in North Korea except her resources—coal, timber and water. Her factories are levelled. Her skilled labor force is scattered or dead. South Korea, like all rural economies has a much greater resiliency. But her problems are intensified by four million refugees and only within the Pusan perimeter are her industries unscathed.

Political independence, which is and should be Korea's ambition, requires eventual independence of foreign aid. Yet a divided Korea cannot achieve economic independence and minimum living standards for many years. She can never approach independence if, without aid, she must maintain a large armed force against the threat of renewed attack. For these reasons, economic aid, technical assistance and security guarantees must be given by the UN on a long-term basis. Without these assurances Korea will become the forgotten stepchild of the UN. Then, at no cost, Asian Communists will regain the ground won from them at great price. But if aid is adequate, and technical assistance is used to encourage the spread of co-operatives, the extension of education and the completion of land reform, the contrast between the well-being of the Republic and the misery of North Korea will exert a powerful magnetic influence for unification under a democratic state. If that is brought about, however subtly and slowly, the hopes and aims of the United Nations will be fully realized.

The first year in Korea, to sum up, has been a year of hard trial and brilliant achievement, best closed today by the prayer of Sir Francis Drake: "O Lord God, when thou givest to thy servants to endeavor any great matter, grant us also to know that it is not the beginning but the continuing of the same until it is thoroughly finished which yieldeth the true glory!"

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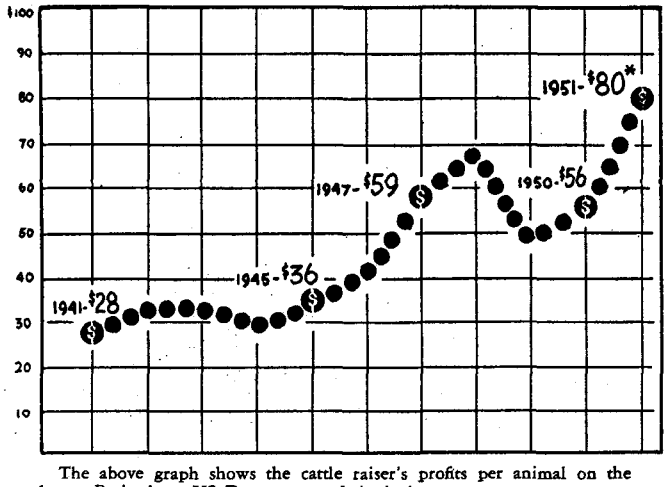
BEHIND THE MEAT STRIKE

by A. J. Heidenheimer

FOR THE PAST MONTH the American defense economy has been challenged by a bull. Somehow, bulls, steers and calves have refused to go to market to provide steaks and hamburgers for the American public. This sabotage of the national effort is not being led by Reds, who have had a notoriously slim following among cattle, but by disarmingly frank cattle growers and conservative Chicago packing executives who are flouting the American Government in favor of a simple ideology—the American dollar. In an effort to push its already stupendous profits still higher, the meat industry has spearheaded an all-out drive to break the controls backbone of economic stabilization.

The industry was successful in a similar endeavor in 1946 when it won a hands-down battle with the OPA to secure a 50-percent boost in the next year's meat prices; they have been climbing ever since. Two months ago, in April, with beef prices 52 percent above parity, the government ordered a rollback to bring meat prices into line. In reply the industry again led a frontal attack on Washington and organized a blackmail plot against millions of meat consumers. Price Stabilizer Michael DiSalle has grabbed the bull by the horns and is proceeding to apply controls on schedule despite repeated threats of a "meat famine." Neither DiSalle nor the Administration has a personal grudge against the politically powerful meat industry. They simply can't ignore economic facts. The most important of these in terms of the cost of living is that, in the 15-month period which ended in March, meat prices rose more than five times as much as workers' wages and more than four times as much as the prices of city-made, manufactured goods.

CATTLE PROFITS: THE RAISER'S SHARE



The above graph shows the cattle raiser's profits per animal on the farm. Basic data: US Department of Agriculture.
* The 1951 figure is an unofficial estimate of the level that will be reached if recent price trends continue unchecked.

As DiSalle put it: "It was obvious that unless the price of cattle was adjusted to a level more nearly in line with other prices and wages, there would be irresistible economic pressure to raise wages and other prices."

Faced with the task of fighting many narrowly selfish pressure groups, the OPS decided to stake its slim powers on an attempt to curb the wildest and most unreasonable of them all. By last week it appeared to have won a temporary victory. But the conflict will continue. What are its causes?

Although vegetarians argue that feeding cattle in preparation for the dinner table is a needlessly uneconomic way for the eating public to get its proteins and calories, the American family does not see it that way. Up to a point housewives have been willing to pay steadily rising prices for meat. This is the basic factor Washington had to contend with in readying the beef price program. Per-capita consumption of meat today is considerably lower than it was before the balanced diet became popular in the 1900s, but the present era of prosperity has led to an upward trend in the average American's meat demand. Despite inordinately high meat prices, average consumption last year was about 146 pounds per person.

Only 44 percent of this was beef. And increasing beef prices have recently led to a yet greater preference for the cheaper pork products, as well as such meat substitutes as poultry, eggs and cheese. But last October galloping inflation was in full swing. Prices were going up daily, and high on the list of expected shortages was beef. This led to a flurry of speculative buying in the cattle industry. Although herds were near record size, ranch owners as well as family farmers shopped around for additional stock. All along the line bidding became more competitive. Since animals often move through as many as 10 separate markets, the price increases piled up higher on the housewife's doorstep.

This presented the Administration with an explosive problem. It had not asked for the price controls which Congress had given it in post-Korean fervor; it had no machinery to administer them, and it sadly rememberd the 1946 "meat elections." Under pressure, the White House slowly assembled skeleton controls machinery. It was late in January before the first orders were issued: retail and wholesale prices were to be "frozen" at their December 25 levels. The country was justifiably skeptical. But for a number of reasons the inflation spiral

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slowed and stopped as spring came on. It slowed, that is, with relation to almost every product except beef, already far out of line.

The main reason beef kept on going up was the industry's speculative boom. The breeders had made commitments on the assumption of higher prices. The stock raiser had bought on the same optimistic basis. The feeders had plunged most heavily in making their short, seven-month contracts. By April the average price received by cattle raisers was 55 percent over the January, 1950, level and even 12 percent over the January, 1951, "freeze" level. Feeders, who had made an average profit of $22.91 per animal for their fattened cattle over the last 10 years, raked in average profits of $80 in March and more than $82 in April. The packers, wholesalers and retailers passed the tariff on to the confused consumer.

By this time OPS officials were sure that the OPA approach would not work. The OPA in World War II had not attempted to impose ceilings "behind" the wholesaler until very late in the game, when the whole price structure began to break down in 1945. That system collapsed under pressure then, and it would not work under strong pressure now.

It was at the packer's level, DiSalle's lieutenants decided, that meat controls would be made or unmade. If the packers could be persuaded or forced to maintain stable price levels, the cattle raisers and feeders would have to follow suit. To make the January, 1951, "freeze" price level, spelled out in the April order, stick, DiSalle announced a 10-percent rollback in cattle prices. The rollback effected in the latter part of May actually was not that severe—average cattle prices were ordered reduced from $388 to $359. That order was intended mainly to give the packers and wholesalers a workable profit margin. Further reductions of 4.5 percent are scheduled to be handed on to the consumer in both August and October, saving housewives an estimated $700 million annually.

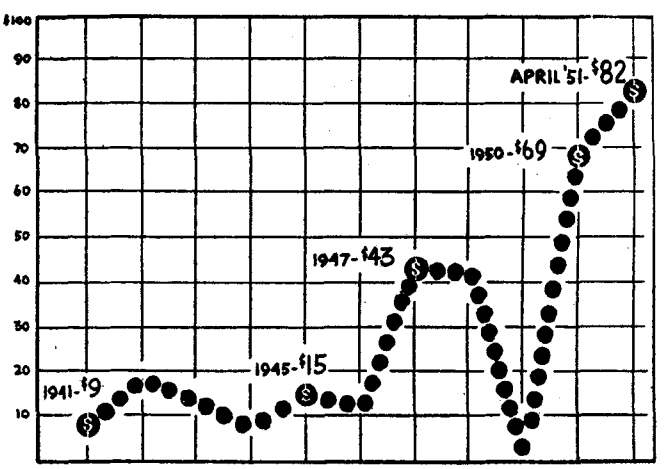
The April rollback order was backed up by a systematic listing of retail ceiling prices for all grades of beef. The program was further bolstered by a tight slaughter-control program which forced packers to register, grade their meat under Agriculture Department supervision and submit to monthly quotas, the intent of which was to allocate the cattle supply as fairly as possible.

"Fairness" is the key word in the ESA's controls. It is defined in terms of "historical profits." The controls that have been ordered would allow cattle raisers average profits of about $65 per head after the third rollback next October, a figure which compares favorably with the $50 they averaged in the boom year 1947. Feeders would be allowed profits of about $40 per head, approximately the same as in 1947 and almost double their 1940-1950 average. Packers are treated generously since the control prices specifically provide them with a broad profit margin. The whole intent of the program is to protect them against the sort of gray-market conditions which allowed the number of slaughterers to rise from 6,000 to 29,000 under the OPA.

But the meat industry was not interested in being treated "fairly." The cattlemen and the packers are making a good thing out of the emergency. Not content, they want an end to controls so that they can do even better. The American Meat Institute, which is dominated by the Big Four—Wilson, Swift, Armour and Cudahy—and controls 85 percent of the nation's packing capacity, has led the industry in a bold attempt to bludgeon the country into acquiescence. In April it began to issue daily forecasts of a meat famine. "We cannot promise you supplies if the controls stay on," said Wesley Hardenberg, the AMI president. Fred Hatch, head of the Chicago Livestock Exchange, echoed the threat. He called upon housewives to "raise such a commotion that . . . Washington will have to throw the controls back where they got them."

But the packers' tactics were suave compared to those of the cattlemen who invaded Washington in the middle of May. With Western Congressional delegations in tow, they threw a huge dinner party for the press at which they ranted against controls. When newspapermen asked for figures to prove their plight, the cattle spokesmen scoffed. "Let's quit pussy-footing," said Chris Finkbinder of Arkansas. "We're here to kill price controls on beef." His call to action was backed up by the Livestock Producers Association's research director, who predicted that "as it stands, the cattle and meat industry will shift over to a black-market basis."

CATTLE PROFITS: THE FEEDER'S SHARE



The above graph shows the profits realized by the feeder per average fattened animal. The OPS proposes to stabilize these profits at about $40. Basic data: US Department of Agriculture.

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The meat lobby's performance was so crass that Farm Bloc stalwart Rep. Harold Cooley (D, N.C.) at the end of the evening made the widely echoed remark: "All I've heard here tonight is bull." Newspapers sailed into the lobby's tactics and lack of supporting facts. The Scripps-Howard Washington *News* ran three blistering editorial columns in one issue attacking the lobbyists. Even the *Wall Street Journal* protested. The meat lobby had made a mistake. But it did not give up.

The campaign was reoriented to hit the less well-informed consumer. Weeks before cattle became scarce in the markets, tales about black markets began to be told in amazing detail. This is a sample: Royden Brown, vice-president of the First National Bank of Fort Morgan, Colo., declared publicly that a black-market meat ring was openly operating in a neighboring county. The statement was featured by the Denver *Post* under a two-column scare headline, reprinted by most Rocky Mountain papers and carried by radio stations as a priority news item. OPS agents investigated and found nothing to substantiate the charge. When interrogated, Brown admitted that he knew about the situation only through "a reliable friend." The friend was a feed-lot operator.

Early in June the shortages finally came. Cattle markets reported 30 percent less stock than usual on the day controls became fully operative. The big packers were among the first to shut off or curtail operations, some even laying off their purchasing agents. The smaller packers continued to operate and kept city butcher shops stocked, if not full. A United Press survey at the beginning of June disclosed almost no hoarding, which seemed to show that housewives were not impressed by the industry's scare talk. They have reason to be skeptical. The meat industry has too much meat on its hands to be able to continue faking a shortage for very long. The ranches and the feeding lots are full of cattle. In withholding them from the market during the hot summer months, when stock sweats heavily, the cattlemen are making a gamble. As one observer put it: "It's like a campaign contribution. Everybody chips in, hoping that the party wins. If they do, everybody'll rake in."

"Up!"

Measured in short-term power, the OPS's resources are slim, when compared to the OPA's. The OPS must carry its prosecutions to the courts through the slow-moving Justice Department. Its enforcement personnel is minute, still numbering less than a thousand men for the entire country. The law under which the OPS operates is weak in a number of crucial spots. Typical of these is the watered-down "triple-damage" clause. Under the OPA, violators could be fined three times the amount of their overcharge. The present controls law, however, provides that "fines shall not exceed the amount of excess plus $10,000." This is a sufficient threat to the small-time chiseler, but it allows the big operator to take a chance on committing a $500,000 violation since even if he is caught, it will cost him only $10,000.

From the vantage of control headquarters, the wooden temporary buildings which house the OPS offices on the Washington Mall, the government's most important ally in the price fight is the voting public. In 1946 the average man was apathetic, if not hostile, to controls. Today he has learned their meaning from bitter experience. That's why the Truman Administration believes it can go down the line on meat and be remembered favorably in November, 1952. Meat controls will not be taken off, unless Congress says otherwise when it rewrites the Defense Production Act over the summer. While it eschews a "big stick" policy, the government has reserve powers which it can invoke should the meat revolt become really serious. OPS officials are currently blueprinting a way by which the government could go into the meat business as the centralized purchasing agent for the country's consumers. The Defense Department has already thrown cattlemen into a dither by announcing that it is dickering for the wholesale purchase of meat from Argentina.

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By taking over the purchase of tin, the government has succeeded in forcing down the tin price from $1.82 to $1.29 per pound in three months' time. Officials believe that the President has emergency powers to establish a Central Meat Purchasing Commission on the same model. Should the packers still refuse to cooperate under that system, the government could fall back on the radical policy of taking over the packing plants, an action long advocated by Lewis Corey and other critics of the Big Four oligopoly.

Although at present these are only remote possibilities, the industry might be wise to consider them before mapping future political forays. Cattlemen too might remember the millions of acres of publicly owned grasslands on which their stock is fattening under extremely favorable, but also revokable, leases. Feeders might well think of the government-controlled grain storage facilities on which they depend for their profitable operations. In the unlikely event of a full-scale war between the meat industry and the rest of the country, the government has strong sovereign powers which it can throw into the balance. The cattlemen who today cry that the control program is "the equivalent of confiscation of property" might throw the bull just once too often.

HOLLYWOOD RETURNS TO THE STAND

by William V. Shannon

THE House Un-American Activities Committee in May, 1947, began public hearings on Communism in Hollywood. They led to the conviction of the "unfriendly ten" for contempt of Congress.

The ostensible purpose of the 1947 hearings was to turn the spotlight of "pitiless publicity" on Communist activities in the movie world and expose the efforts of the Party to influence the content of motion pictures. In fact, by the time the committee had arrived on the scene the Communist attempt to control the movie unions and the industry had been broken. The Congressmen sent 10 writers and directors to jail. They never proved that the Communists had actually controlled the content of movies beyond the slanting of a few wartime films along pro-Russian lines.

Today in Washington the committee is once again dredging up Reds from Hollywood and Vine. This time the klieg lights, the newsreel cameras and the radio microphones are absent. Middle-aged ladies still show up to gasp at the celebrities, but the hard-boiled radio and TV men know that there is very little news in the current investigation.

Missing, also, so far as anyone has been able to discover, is a purpose for these hearings. Nobody contends that there are any Communists in important jobs in the film industry. Nor does anyone believe that the intellectual vacuum customarily prevailing in Hollywood is being filled these days by Party propaganda. No new names have come up to add to the stale and dreary roster of Hollywood Communists.

Why are the Hollywood hearings being held?

From the committee's angle, it would sometimes seem that the central motivation is unexpended momentum. The members and the staff of the committee, reluctant to abolish themselves, continue functioning for lack of a way to stop.

From the witnesses' point of view, the committee has taken on some of the attributes of the American Medical Association and the Good Housekeeping Institute. Ex-Reds, ex-fellow travelers and ex-liberals present themselves before Rep. John Wood and his colleagues and, after due investigation, are granted a seal of approval testifying to their politically sterilized condition.

It is impossible to observe these hearings, however, in any sustained mood of lighthearted cynicism. At the end of each morning's session, there is always that obscure urge to go out and wash one's hands. For what is going on here is one of the ugliest human spectacles this side of the Iron Curtain. What the spectators see each day is the degradation of a human spirit, groveling and abasing itself in a slough of guilt and self-denunciation before a little circle of cigar-chewing, bleak-eyed men.

Edward G. Robinson, John Garfield, José Ferrer, Budd Schulberg are a few of the "big names" to appear in the present investigation. Each put on a slightly different performance, and each was equally depressing. Robinson vigorously disassociated himself from any Communist tie-ups. Not only had he never been a Communist, he declared, but he was even as good an American as William Randolph Hearst. To prove it, Robinson proceeded to read a letter from a Hearst executive conveying the publisher's permission to appear in a Hearst-sponsored "I Am An American" celebration.

Garfield, in contrast, gave the appearance of being alternately puzzled and truculent as he denied all charges of having been a fellow traveler. He assured the committee that he was going to sue the organizations that

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William V. Shannon is Washington correspondent for the New York "Post" and co-author with Robert S. Allen of the "Truman Merry-Go-Round."

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had used his name without his permission. The committee had expected a good, soul-cleansing confession rather than these confused protestations of injured innocence. It sternly forwarded Garfield's contradictory testimony to the Justice Department "for possible prosecution."

Ferrer, the Academy Award winning star of "Cyrano de Bergerac" and "Twentieth Century," was too much an actor to restrain himself from hamming up his appearance before the committee. At regular intervals, he grimaced, wiped his collar, patted his forehead with a handkerchief, or clasped his hands together. Yet for all his surface theatricality, Ferrer was also the most pathetic of all the witnesses:

"I was stupid. I was wrong. I am sorry. I guess I slipped up on that one.

"You know, it was only the other day that I discovered that May Day is a Communist celebration."

Unless one took Ferrer for an utter dolt, which he obviously is not, his lame excuses and expressions of ignorance could only mean that he was a man so frightened of the committee's power to destroy his reputation and his public career that he was willing to offer almost any excuse to avoid its displeasure.

Yet of what had he been "guilty"? Support of the Spanish Loyalists, membership in a half-dozen Party fronts and attendance at Communist-sponsored rallies and parties. The very worst that he could be charged with was political ignorance and intellectual confusion. The Un-American Activities Committee, however, viewed him as sourly as if he had borne a mountain of uranium to the Russians on his shoulders.

Schulberg, author of *What Makes Sammy Run?* and *The Disenchanted*, reflected all the strains and subtle pressures which he has described so vividly in others. Unlike some previous witnesses, he had been a Communist Party member, or at least a member of a Communist youth "cell" in the period from 1937 to 1939. He was then working as a screen writer in Hollywood, but he did not recall any efforts by the Party to influence him in his film work. He left the Communists when the Party hierarchy attempted to dictate the content of his first novel, *What Makes Sammy Run?*

All of his Party comrades were figures well known to the committee, yet Schulberg forced himself to supply their names with visible reluctance. He conceded that he had been a Wallace supporter in 1948 and had signed a petition urging the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee. He elaborately explained these and similar actions in a manner that was half-apologetic and half-defensive.

The committee hearings have so far turned up not a shred of new evidence on the long-dead Communist network in Hollywood, and they are not likely to do so. Apparently that is not their purpose. What is in action here is what Alan Barth has aptly called "the cult of loyalty." The committee acts as a tribunal, a panel of witch doctors to enforce American orthodoxy, as defined in the most narrow and conservative terms.

Those who ever deviated from this orthodoxy, whether in the direction of Communism, fellow traveling or liberalism, are summoned before the tribunal and ordered to recant. And recant they do, on pain of having their reputations and their careers destroyed if they do not. (Sometimes, of course, as in the case of actor Larry Parks, their careers are ruined even though they do "come clean.")

Drugs, blows, beatings, ice baths and weeks of solitary confinement may be needed to produce confession in Russia. But by economic and psychological pressure alone, the Un-American Activities Committee compels men to come before it to deny their deepest beliefs and to apologize for actions and opinions for which no free citizen should ever have to apologize.

Schulberg alone never claimed that he had been misunderstood or misrepresented. When he had been a Communist and a close fellow traveler, he had done what he honestly believed in at the time. Yet even Schulberg passed up the opportunity to give a courageous statement of the free man's right to think for himself, to follow his spirit wherever it takes him, to grow and change. Instead, like Ferrer, he ended by abasing himself, congratulating the committee for its good work and urging that it be continued, just as Russian prisoners invariably thank the court which has punished them for having shown them the error of their ways.

What lingers for the sickened spectator is the ugly image of these lonely men, one by one prostrating and degrading themselves. It is all the more tragic because each is an artist, the person in society traditionally most committed to the ideal of the free, inquiring, questioning human spirit.

In the very moment when each is trying to prove how much like everybody else he is, he seems most alone. Whether flanked by counsel or not, each man is utterly isolated. He goes alone through the wretched ritual of confession and self-recrimination, repentance and adherence to the new orthodoxy. It is his eyes that squint as the flashbulbs go off in his face; it is his hand that trembles with the water glass as Schulberg's did; it is his voice which mutters the words of the ritual—"I was wrong. I was stupid. I am sorry." It is his ordeal and his alone.

Henry Thoreau would have known what to say at such a time.

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ATLANTIC UNION—SILENT REVOLUTION

by Denis Healey

THE REMODELING of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization last month, and in particular the establishment of a Financial and Economic Board for economic discussion and planning, may prove a turning point in the development of Atlantic unity. For the first time the US has, in principle at least, recognized the same obligation to submit her economic policies to collective review as she has so long prescribed for her European partners. And machinery now exists by which the resources of the Atlantic alliance can be mobilized behind a single purpose.

There can rarely have been a movement of such historic importance which has aroused so little public interest in Britain as this movement toward Atlantic unity. There is still no British parallel to the campaigns pursued for so many years in the US by men like Walter Lippmann and Clarence Streit. The British Parliament so far contains no counterpart to the powerful group of Congressmen led by Senator Kefauver, who have given the idea widespread currency in the United States. Nonetheless the movement toward Atlantic unity owes much to Britain since the war. If Churchill with his Fulton speech is its prophet, Ernest Bevin is its chief architect. Few of the major steps toward Atlantic unity since 1945 could have been taken without his energy and vision.

Yet in its work of weaving ties between England and the United States the British Government has proceeded unobtrusively and apologetically. The reason is obvious enough. The idea of a lasting union with the United States offends many deep-rooted prejudices in England, both Left and Right. Many Socialists see the United States as the citadel of reaction and appear ignorant of everything that has happened in America in the last 20 years. Many Conservatives see the United States as a jealous upstart bent on wrecking the structure of Britain's imperial power. Added to these party prejudices there is the widespread popular resentment in Britain at America's economic and military superiority, a resentment fed by thousands of petty incidents during the wartime American occupation in England.

All these popular prejudices have discouraged Britain's leaders from too open a propaganda for Atlantic unity. The British Government ushered in the Atlantic Pact as quietly as possible, without any attempt to prepare public opinion for it in advance. The Russians were left to provide the necessary build-up.

This discretion may have been wise in the past. The idea is far too important to risk miscarriage by a premature delivery. And to some extent those who criticize the consequences of Anglo-American partnership, like Bevan and MacArthur, are forcing both peoples to face their real identity of interest. But rational argument is not an adequate answer to the emotional appeal of Anglo-phobia or America-phobia. In Britain, at least, more people are beginning to feel that the time has come to advance Atlantic union as a political ideal.

This had its striking demonstration during the recent session of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. Unlike Atlantic unity, European unity has had the benefit of impassioned and continuous public propaganda for at least three years. Particularly on the Continent, it has formed the consistent theme of public speeches. Its general popularity, fanned by the energetic propaganda of the unofficial European Movement, compelled the governments to set up the Council of Europe in 1949 as the official projection of the idea, complete with a parliamentary assembly which, whatever governments might claim, appeared to the average European as a federal congress in embryo.

The idea of European unity was supported by many groups for the most diverse reasons. Politicians of the Right, both in Britain and on the Continent, saw it as a means of restoring Europe's imperial position in a form more fitting to the modern world. Politicians of the Left, particularly in France, saw it as a Socialist Third Force, mediating in some way between capitalist America and Communist Russia. Many Americans saw it as a gigantic Maginot Line, a self-supporting *cordon sanitaire* behind which America could sink back into the comfortable isolationism of the past. Many Europeans saw it as the only way of solving the German problem. And there is no doubt that the Vatican saw it as providing a territorial base for a revival of the Catholic Church as a secular influence.

Two years' experience have sufficed to expose all these concepts as illusions. Britain made it clear at the outset that, as essentially a world power and the nerve center of a Commonwealth with members in every continent, she could not confine herself to a purely European union, still less join a European federation. Ireland and the Scandinavian countries took a similar position. The continental countries for a time refused to face the implications of the British position in the belief that it sprang from a sort of Socialist nationalism and might well be reversed if the Conservative Party came to power.

Denis Healey is International Secretary of the British Labour Party.

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But as their expectations of office increased, the Conservatives were reluctantly forced to dash these hopes. Some Tories, however, mainly of the old Imperialist school, still favor the creation of a Commonwealth-Europe bloc within the Atlantic Alliance as a counterweight to American power.

In August, 1950, the continental countries at Strasbourg at last faced the fact that if they wanted to federate they must do so without Britain and Scandinavia. The vast majority decided that a political union which excluded Britain was even less desirable than the existing state of affairs. France and the Benelux countries feared that such a limited union would be dominated nationally by Germany. Most of the Socialists feared that it would be dominated politically by Catholic reaction. So the Council of Europe gave up the federal idea in favor of the so-called "functional" approach to union. It was generally agreed that unity should be sought through the creation of specialized agencies—for transport, agriculture and so on—and that countries wishing to stand outside any such agencies should be able to do so without vetoing action by the others.

The Third Session of the Assembly last month put this approach to the test. It showed that even if European unity could be achieved by functional means, it would not arouse much interest or enthusiasm. Most of the obvious functions for which agencies might be set up are irrelevant to Britain and the Scandinavian countries, which are separated from the Continent by sea. To this extent, therefore, a limited functional union is open to the same objections as a limited federal union. In any case, the lawyer-politicians in the Assembly, unqualified to discuss in detail the function an agency should perform, can only argue about its political constitution, where the federal spectre arises at every turn. Finally the Catholic parties, which are the main supporters of functional pools like the Schuman Plan, are a declining force in both France and Germany. But the overwhelming fact which emerged from Strasbourg was that all the really important problems demanding functional treatment require co-operation from America and Canada. Not one can be solved within a purely European union.

All the European countries tacitly admitted that their economic future depends on lasting co-operation with America several months ago when they invited the United States and Canada to sit in the Organization for European Economic Co-operation as permanent members. At Strasbourg Maurice Edelman, the British Labourite, drew the Assembly's attention to the raw-materials crisis as also demanding action on an Atlantic scale. No one any longer believes that Europe's defense is possible without support from the outset by the United States and Canada. Indeed the Italian Republican La Malfa wanted Eisenhower to address the Assembly on the subject.

The British and Scandinavian Socialists at Strasbourg took advantage of this general trend to propose that America and Canada be invited to associate themselves permanently with the Council of Europe, both in the Consultative Assembly and in the Committee of Ministers. Spaak refused to allow the Assembly to vote on this proposal, which has been sent to a committee for further discussion. As an interim measure the European Assembly is now trying to arrange a special debate on a chosen subject with delegates from the American Congress.

Glenvil Hall, the leader of the British Labour delegation, made a powerful speech in which he said: "The British Labour Party greatly welcomes the developments toward the concept of Atlantic unity and away from the concept of unity which is limited only to the free parts of the Continent of Europe." He pointed out that the steps taken inside NATO provide a unity of principle and action between the member countries which will survive even if and when the present military menace disappears. And he made it clear that the Labour Party sees the steady strengthening of Atlantic union as the main hope for the future. The enthusiasm of British Labour is not generally shared.

The big question now is whether Britain can give an effective political lead for Atlantic unity where she was unable to do so in the case of European unity. This has been the theme of several British newspapers in the last few weeks. The Sunday *Observer* wrote on May 20: "Mr. Morrison should now abandon the cool attitude toward the Council of Europe which has been official policy so far, and propose instead its extension into a broader Atlantic Council. If he did, he would at one bound have made his mark as an international statesman. For such a proposal would be the first step toward that federal government of the free world which must remain our visible if distant goal if we are to retain any rational optimism."

Unfortunately few times seem less auspicious for such an initiative by a British Labour statesman. Any remark bearing on America's foreign policy is liable to be taken up by MacArthurites as an outrageous interference in the domestic wrangle. Churchill cancelled his American visit for this reason; it is doubtful whether Morrison would rush in where Churchill fears to tread. If the Communist theory of the Permanent Revolution makes it difficult to get along with Russia, the Republican theory of the Permanent Election Campaign raises its problems for the friends of America.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *A Befuddled A*

THE MOST disturbing news for a long, long time was in the Washington *Post* on Sunday, June 10. The news was not under the front-page headline, "Reds Stiffen Resistance at Triangle." It was not in the columns that were crammed with the testimony of Secretary Acheson during his eight days' inquisition by the Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees of the Senate, in which he made Sen. Styles Bridges of New Hampshire look more foolish than Bridges made himself by his stupid, ungrammatical and "to hell with syntax" questions that would have disgraced an illiterate. Neither did Gen. Douglas "MacArtful's" splenetic telegram to Senator Knowland of California disturb my equanimity, although I noted that he signed it "MacArthur," omitting the *Rex et Imperator*. I was not even made anxious by the latest prophecies as to when the "inevitable" war with Russia might, could, would or should break. What did worry me, and continues to do so, was an inconspicuous story on the eighth page of the first section quoting figures from the latest poll by Dr. George Gallup.

Dr. Gallup's confident predictions of Dewey's election in 1948 had disillusioned me as to the general dependability of polls taken to gauge public opinion. And yet, percentage-wise, some polls have been fairly accurate. But whether they have or not, Dr. Gallup's findings about what has been going on in the alleged minds of some of the American people since General MacArthur stepped onto the stage with floodlights focused upon him have been enough to worry any citizen of a country whose wise governance depends upon a general comprehension of vital political factors.

The poll had been taken after Generals Marshall and Bradley had demonstrated that the prior testimony of General "MacArtful" was self-serving and apparently deliberately designed to give the American people an incorrect, if not a distorted, view of the situation in Korea and the Far East. The returns indicated that a total of 30 percent of the American people interviewed had not read anything about the hearings whose importance could hardly be underestimated, either here, in the countries that are allied with us or by the Communist nations and their satellites. Considering the publicity given to those hearings and the theatrical posturings of the "hero of Bataan," it can hardly be denied that this was a highly dangerous percentage of indifference and ignorance. National elections are customarily decided by much narrower margins. One can only anticipate with the gravest apprehension the result in 1952 if 30 percent of the indifferent and ignorant add their votes to those of the prejudiced, the misi

After studying this poll, Di
ably it seems to me, that "s
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apparently stopped when his testimony was concluded." Nothing could be more dangerous in a democracy than for the voters to make up their minds after the presentation of highly personalized and prejudicial testimony without even listening to the other side. Who could determine whether, as to Korea, MacArthur, *ex parte*, was all right or all wrong or partly right and partly wrong without listening to Generals Marshall and Bradley? And yet the fact seems to be, as Dr. Gallup contends, that to the 30 percent referred to above "must be added many others who have not followed the testimony, particularly that of Generals Marshall and Bradley." The conviction of more than 30 percent of the voters that MacArthur should be taken at his own appraisement of himself could hardly be worse. We cannot boast of our intelligence and ability to govern ourselves when confronted by the fact that 25 percent of those interviewed were persuaded that MacArthur's proposal was "to enlarge the war," while an almost equal 22 percent thought that he wanted "to end the war quickly." Certainly he could not have advocated both objectives. It should also be noted that 21 percent thought that what Marshall and Bradley proposed was to limit the war to Korea while 19 percent did not know what Generals Marshall and Bradley had in mind. Thirty percent agreed with MacArthur as against 19 percent who accepted what they believed to be the Marshall-Bradley ideas.

Instead of being enlightened by the protracted hearings that have been going on, the people, including some of the "mutton-minded" Senators who are helping to muddy the waters by remarks that show their own inability to understand, are being befuddled with the help of political and journalistic poisoners. But we may be sure that the Kremlin is better informed, as a result of these hearings, than our own people and that our Allies probably have regarded them with consternation.

No one within my memory has done such a reckless disservice to his country as has MacArthur. He should be pilloried by the just indignation of his countrymen whose position in world affairs he has jeopardized and whose morale he has damaged. A thousand McCarthys were less a threat to the America that we love than one military coxcomb! "Hero" indeed! "Patriot!" "Military genius!"

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

ON THE FALLIBILITY OF BRASS

by Henry F. Pringle

THIS ACCOUNT by General Bradley of his problems and leadership in World War II will rank high among the torrent of books being written by the statesmen, generals and admirals. Parts of it are too technical for the non-expert; parts are too detailed. The innumerable maps are mainly bad, as military maps nearly always are when they are simplified for the benefit of civilians.

A SOLDIER'S STORY, by General of the Army Omar N. Bradley (Holt; $5).

But, as might be expected of a volume which bears the name of Omar Bradley, *A Soldier's Story* is an honest book. The leader of the 12th Army Group in the European theatre rejects the absurd notion that the Big Brass is infallible or, if not, must be made to seem so for the good of the service. He had been warned, the General notes, that to discuss frankly the frictions and differences among the Allied commanders might be "a disservice to our North Atlantic alliance." "This I dispute," declares Bradley.

He disputes too the idea that battles and campaigns always went according to plan. He sees faults in his subordinates and, far more important, in his superiors. And so the appraisals that emerge from his pages of the waspish Montgomery, the childish Patton and of others are the best yet seen in print. Even Eisenhower does not escape occasional criticism. The General's reminiscences would be important if they did nothing more than demolish the official Pentagon line that the Battle of the Bulge in December, 1944, was a great big jolly Allied victory. He admits that Intelligence had been fooled; he concedes that he himself was deceived by the strength of the German attack: not until "after the war did we learn how grossly I had underrated the enemy's intentions."

The busy public-relations officers in the ETO called Bradley the soldier's general. The jacket of the book, for which he is not to be held responsible, says that he was a "GI's general, beloved and respected by all who served him." Well, the fantasy that a high commander is loved as a kind of super-father is one of those myths nurtured by the military. Perhaps Stonewall Jackson, and more probably Lee, won love from their men in the Civil War, but high-ranking generals in World War II lived in elaborate headquarters—requisitioned estates—where they dined on tenderloin steaks, drank wine and whisky and were waited on hand and foot. The supposedly loving Joes either did not know that their generals existed or hated their guts as they slogged through the mud and snow, went hungry and got themselves killed.

Yet the picture of Bradley as a beloved papa is not completely inaccurate. He loathed the bloodshed and the losses. He took calculated risks, but they were very carefully calculated, and he never squandered manpower as did Patton. Moreover, he took an exceedingly dim view of many aspects of Patton's character: "I may offend those who prefer to remember Patton, not as a human being but a heroic size statue in a public park."

Perhaps so. But General Bradley will not offend the historian or any honest biographer of that turbulent officer. Bradley never minimizes Patton's qualities as a field commander, but he was alternately amused and irritated by his flamboyance. He tells of an occasion when Patton noticed that Bradley, at the time his subordinate, was carrying an old Colt .45. "Hell, Brad," he said, "what you need is a social gun. You can't carry that cannon with you everywhere you go." In due course a social gun was delivered by ordnance, doubtless with a pearl handle. To Bradley, Patton's exhibitionism seemed silly. During the African campaign President Roosevelt sent to the Senate a recommendation for his promotion to Lieutenant General. When word of this was received, "George's aides jubilantly unpacked a three-star flag and several sets of the new collar insignia.

"They had come remarkably well prepared for just such contingencies as these," General Bradley adds. "Indeed had Patton been named an admiral in the Turkish navy, his aides could probably have dipped into their haversacks and come up with an appropriate badge of rank."

The human mind, God knows, is a mass of contradictions. And this includes, of course, the military mind. At one point Bradley says:

> In time of war the only value that can be affixed to any unit is the tactical value of that unit in winning the war. Even the lives of those men assigned to it become nothing more than tools to be used in the accomplishment of that mission. War has neither the time nor heart to concern itself with the individual and the dignity of man. Men must be subordinated to the effort that comes with fighting a war.

Therein, General Bradley adds, lies "the agony of war" for a commander. Nor is there the faintest touch of brutality in him. He and his fellow commanders—most of whom had never heard a combat shot fired until they landed in Africa—learned to know what war was really like. It was "a wretched debasement of all the thin pretensions of civilization." Bradley never forgot the terrible hardships of the foot soldier. Here is his description of the role of the infantryman, a description which might well be memorized by the statesmen who say that world alliance is not possible, don't you know, because the nations will never consent to give up any of their sovereign rights:

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For him there are no 25 or 50 missions to be completed for a ticket home. Instead the rifleman trudges into battle knowing that statistics are stacked against his survival. He fights without promise of either reward or relief. Behind every river, there's another hill—and behind that hill, another river. After weeks or months in the line only a wound can offer him the comfort of safety, shelter, and a bed. Those who are left to fight, fight on, evading death but knowing that with each day of evasion they have exhausted one more chance for survival. Sooner or later, unless victory comes, the chase must end on the litter or in the grave.

Those of us so advanced in years that we saw no more than the merest fraction of the horrors of World War II can find warm satisfaction in the fact that we have a man who thinks like that on the important job of chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. For judgment in the military phases of General Bradley's book I look forward to the considered opinions of the authorities. It seems to me that it is quite impossible, within the limitations of this review, to do justice to that side of the volume. But some of his conclusions deserve a note or two:

¶ That the plans for an invasion of France in 1943, to which General George C. Marshall subscribed, would have resulted in a disaster comparable to the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

¶ That we were woefully slow in building landing craft, for which the blame must be shared by all of our ranking leaders.

¶ That the Air Force grossly exaggerated its destruction of the German industrial potential.

¶ That friction among Allied commanders was always a threat to the prosecution of the war.

¶ That we won the war because of our incredible production and because of the fantastic mistakes of Hitler and his commanders.

To say that the memoirs of General Bradley will be studied by historians for decades to come is not to imply that *A Soldier's Story* will not be read with profit and pleasure by non-professionals. It is a portrait of war as it is, with all the confusion, the friction, the mistakes and the horror. It should also be said that Bradley has a sense of humor and knows how to tell a story.

No small part of the excellence of the book may be attributed, as the General acknowledges, to his clever young aide, Lieut.-Col. Chester B. Hansen.

Henry F. Pringle is the author of biographies of William Howard Taft, Alfred E. Smith and Theodore Roosevelt (for which he won a Pulitzer Prize). With his wife, he is preparing a history to be called "America at War."

RENAISSANCE MODERN

PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA, by Kenneth Clark (Phaidon Press; $8.50).

Sir Kenneth Clark is an almost purely English phenomenon. A graduate of Oxford University, he studied for some time at Florence under Bernard Berenson. Coming back to England he became the Keeper of Paintings in Britain's oldest museum and art gallery, the

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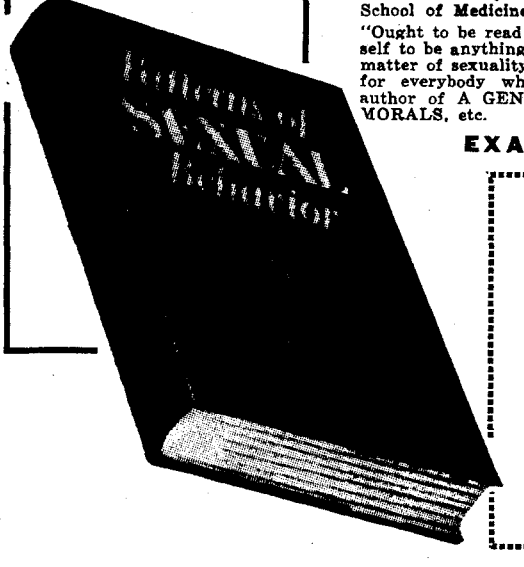

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Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford; then became Keeper of the King's Pictures, and, while still in his thirties, Director of London's National Gallery. A few years ago he retired from that post and his latest official position was as Slade Professor of the Fine Arts at Oxford.

He prepared the official catalogue of the Leonardo drawings at Windsor Castle and wrote a definitive book about Leonardo (Cambridge, 1939), part of which consisted of lectures given at Yale University in the autumn of 1936. The present study of Piero della Francesca is the crown, thus far, of his work on the art of the Italian Renaissance. But before examining it, one more thing needs saying about the author. The reader will find that the book is dedicated to Henry Moore, generally recognized as England's leading modern artist. His work is experimental and nonrealistic. At a time when art historians' powers of appreciation seem entirely devoid of elasticity, it is invigorating to find an expert on Renaissance painting stretching his antennae forth into the twentieth century.

Kenneth Clark is a collector, and a man of means. He is the possessor of some very famous paintings, Renoirs, Cézannes and so forth. But he is also a most active patron of contemporary artists. Both by his personal efforts, and through the various official positions which he has held, he has done more than any other individual to foster the cause of living art in England today.

These personal factors are not so irrelevant as they may seem. In the first place, they establish the scholarly credentials of an author who has ventured to bring out the first authoritative book on Piero della Francesca. (It is true that Professor Roberto Longhi's work on the same subject was first published in 1927, and reissued in 1942, but it lacks the solidity of Clark's study, which will undoubtedly replace it.) In the second place, they explain the choice of artist. Piero is, despite the five centuries that have elapsed since his death, a curiously modern painter. He is a discovery of our time, and his discovery was largely due to that formula of appreciation evolved by Berenson and exploited by Roger Fry and Clive Bell.

Piero is a plastic artist. The dominant quality of his works, one which strikes even a layman, is their solidity, their complete realization in space. It is a quality which has always been basic to European art, but it has received a greater emphasis in our time than ever before. Cézanne reaffirmed it, and the Cubists carried it to its ultimate conclusions. Yet another quality of Piero to which our restless, anxious age responds is his serenity. Emotional problems concern him not at all. The feelings he depicts are the fundamental ones: dignity and a religious sense that surpasses the bounds of dogmatism or ritual.

To the nineteenth century he appealed hardly at all. Ruskin scarcely mentioned him, and though Crowe and Cavalcaselle appreciated his essential qualities, they saw nothing to admire in that plasticity which means so much to us.

There are qualities in this book that will make it a focus for a new evaluation of Piero. It is not a work of scholarship in the bad sense of the word. The lay mind is not distracted by endless domestic squabbles about attributions. There is little or none of the venom that enters so easily into the world of learning. The text is written in a graceful, easy style. The quality of the seven color reproductions is as high as we ever see, and the 212 ordinary illustrations are technically excellent and—especially in the choice of details—marked by a rare imaginative insight. The fact that there are illustrations to the notes is also admirable. The average reader, despite pious fictions to the contrary, does not have at his fingertips the entire repertory of European art, and the learned commentator who refers to a painting at Siena as a point of reference should at least provide some indication of what this painting is like.

Like many modern artists, the Impressionists, the Pointillists, the Cubists and the Surrealists, Piero was a theoretician. His art was "scientific." But in establishing this, Sir Kenneth makes a second point that is of great relevance to the criticism of our time: these theories do not in themselves make or mar the purely artistic qualities of their professors. Their sole purpose is to enable artists to liberate and control their need of identifying themselves with the creative process of nature. BERNARD DENVIR

Bernard Denvir is the art critic of "Tribune" and the "Daily Herald" and London correspondent of "Le Peintre."

MEN IN GROUPS

ROADS TO AGREEMENT, by Stuart Chase (Harpers; $3.50).

THERE IS a nice flavor about this book. It is well-intentioned, mellow, open-minded. Stuart Chase has mastered the art of writing simply about new intellectual movements and he brings great enthusiasm to the project of amassing data from the social sciences to buttress his hunch that the real news of history is union—although history is usually written exclusively in terms of conflict.

The "roads" to agreement are illustrated by: the Quaker technique of achieving unanimity; mediation and arbitration procedures in labor-management conflicts; the work in progress at the National Laboratory at Bethel on group discussion as a means of easing community tensions; the TVA experiment; the use of "the culture concept" by government agencies and university research groups; and the "science" of semantics as a safeguard against emotive talk and misunderstanding.

The author's wish to be authentic led him to visit the men and places where agreement was being studied or splendidly exemplified. Consequently, although his book could be described as a summary of the large findings of group dynamics and industrial peace, it is full of vivid incidents and encounters which give it a narrative, rather than an analytic, quality.

The outcome of Chase's inquiry is to recommend five main principles of agreement. "The principle of participation" would make all interested parties to a dispute feel that they have commonly arrived at the decision. "The principle of group energy" recognizes that for social issues thinking in groups is more productive than thinking in solitude. "The principle of clearing communication lines" would avoid the snarling of those lines by abstract or

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ill-defined symbols. "The principle of facts first" is to forestall a hard and general position. Finally, there is "the principle that agreement is much easier when people feel secure."

While all these admirable roads to agreement are mapped and the brains of eminent social scientists are picked for their findings about man and modern society, the intellectual level of the inquiry is not wholly satisfactory. One cause for disappointment is Chase's still ardent promotion of "semantics" as a separate systematic discipline capable of liberating us from our "ideological cells." He looks upon semantics, not as the theory of the relations between symbols and what they designate, but as mental hygiene and social therapy—as advocated by the late Count Korzybski. That one can be truly misled by an uncritical devotion to the cult of semantics is demonstrated by the author's absurd contention that neither side, at Potsdam, "knew what the other meant by the term 'democracy'." The Russians knew perfectly well what the other Allies meant by "democracy": at least a two-party system, a government based upon consent, and elementary civil liberties including multiple and non-governmental newspapers. When the Russians today pretend to call their regime in East Germany "democratic" and ours in West Germany "capitalistic" they are not being deceived by words. Nor should we be.

Another disappointment arises from Chase's failure to convey clearly the findings of the infant social science, "group dynamics," which he heartily endorses. To be sure, the fault may not lie with the author but rather with the still inchoate and confused science itself. But then one would expect him to criticize the over-optimism of many of the clinical psychologists and sociologists quoted. One would also expect some appraisal of the methodological difficulties involved in this field. Are they wanting, perhaps, because agreement becomes an absolute to so persuasive a writer as Stuart Chase?

ADRIENNE KOCH

Adrienne Koch is an associate professor of Philosophy in the Division of General Education, New York University.

"HAVE FUN"

BOY WITH A TRUMPET, by Rhys Davies (Doubleday; $3).

THERE IS a story, "A Human Condition," in this collection which describes the desperate search for liquor of a bereaved husband. He needs the liquor as armor against his grief and also to shield him from the disapproving eyes of his wife's relatives. Having managed, one way or another, to get enough to drink, he maintains a drunken dignity on the way to the cemetery but, on reaching the edge of the open grave, totters and falls in, thus earning a deathless reputation for passionate devotion and heroic grief.

This melange of grief, irony and humor might better have been the title story, since it is typical of most of these tales in its racy, earthy smell of thoroughly human conditions like the canvases of Brueghel and the tales of Chaucer. Because the stories are told by a sophisticated and honest writer, few of the human conditions are unnaturally simple or completely solemn—love is a negligible detail humbly trailing the hugely comic and awesome urge for procreation which dominates "Abraham's Glory"; and sometimes the grave gives out roars of laughter, as in "Mourning for Ianto."

Although Davies' mood is most often that of Olympian humor and the view that of a distant if kindly eye, there are some powerfully bitter stories. "Two Friends" tells of two women, wives of unemployed Welsh miners, who are caught stealing small quantities of coal. The whole of their tragic lives is revealed in their welcome of imprisonment: "Fourteen days! Peace. Shut away. Fed with somebody's else's food." "A pity it isn't a hospital, though. Myself, I've longed many a day to go in and have a serious operation." In "The Nightgown" compassionate bitterness pervades the story of another mine wife whose life is sucked away by a large family of indifferent males and who, only in death, enjoys the one feminine luxury she has ever owned.

With few exceptions, the stories treat of Welsh miners and farmers, a society of hard-working, realistic people who stubbornly cherish their earth and their eccentricities, but whose heartiness and stolidity are lightened by the engaging piquancies of their turns of mind and speech. There is a fine example of this in "The Farm." The farmer, recently widowed, sends up an indignant prayer: "My daughters trot round me like steaming mares. Manes they have, that go up in a storm. Like legs their arms, and their fists like hoofs. Male women they are and of disposition contrary to ladies'. Say to my wife, Matilda, where she is up there, that I am weary of earth and my heart grizzles for accommodation in Zion. Crops bad, daughters too much, and people buying condensed milk in grocer shops. No profit last quarter. Aye, only loss by Thy will, God, though an old man am I getting. Surely not quite fair, is it?"

Not least of the charms of *Boy with a Trumpet* is that it belongs to the antique tradition of story-telling in which an atmosphere is swiftly evoked, a tale begins, spreads its developments and then gathers together for a clean end. We have been fed so many short stories which are little shapeless masses of rueful whispers that it is a delight to have an author boldly say, "Here. There is nothing personal in them; they are not the children of my ailing psyche; they were designed simply to be read and enjoyed. Have fun." KATE SIMON

THEATRE: The Playing of Shakespeare

BETWEEN Stratford-on-Avon and London nine plays by Shakespeare are being given at this moment. In the past five years the English theatre has seen at least six different Hamlets. This proves the English devotion to Shakespeare, and the ambitiousness of the English theatrical profession. It does not necessarily mean that the problem of presenting Shakespeare as a living playwright has been solved on the English stage. One of the obstacles to such a solution is our idolatry of Shakespeare's language. Actors and directors alike seem to proceed on the theory that if the "great speeches" are well delivered, the play will emerge. The result is that most Shakespeare productions depend on our previous knowledge of the texts. If we knew nothing of the plays before we entered the theatre, we would soon realize that most of them make very little sense in terms of their stage presentation.

To begin with, Shakespeare's characters nearly always seem like stereotypes

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on the stage, because actors and directors have stale preconceptions of them and, still worse, rarely relate the characters to the themes of the plays. The themes too are taken for granted: "Othello" is the tragedy of jealousy; "Romeo and Juliet" of love; "Macbeth" of ambition; etc., etc. A good example of what I am talking about is the current Olivier-Leigh production of "Antony and Cleopatra" (directed by Michael Benthall) which is being given alternately with Shaw's "Caesar and Cleopatra"—the most successful offerings in London today.

The two leading players are, of course, very attractive, the scenic arrangement is beautifully timed, smooth and good-looking, the costumes handsome, the plot line clear. But, aside from the fact that Vivien Leigh is more minx than tigress and an actress of very noticeable limitations, the play is hardly directed as a play at all: it has no thematic line capable of a dramatic development.

Shakespeare's Antony is the Hamlet of sexual passion. He wants to be a "great man" in the world, and he barely succeeds in being a great lover. Beside the sober and balanced statesmanship of Caesar, Antony seems vain, fickle, inferior. He wants to maintain a noble position as warrior and leader, but his attachment to Cleopatra makes this impossible; he breaks down at every step. Thus he very often seems to hate Cleopatra because he knows that his love for her is incompatible with his other ambitions.

Antony is so tied to his passion—a fact he resents—that he can do almost nothing but love, so that, in a way, he ceases to live. Cleopatra embraces her destiny—she is ready to live and die for love—but Antony hardly knows wherein his destiny lies. In the end, he even bungles his death. "Poor Antony," Caesar sighs. The director and actor who would present "Antony and Cleopatra" with any dramatic clarity must understand Antony's "two faces" and decide whether Antony is to be admired as a hero or pitied as a victim.

Olivier simply reads speeches and does moments—whether well or ill is of secondary importance—but he *acts* only one scene: the conference between Antony and Caesar in which Antony tries to preserve his dignity with Caesar and at the same time placate him. The scenes of passion are weak, not because of any incapacity in the actor, but because they are played as ordinary love scenes, not as the embodiment of the struggle within Antony between his amorous appetite and his desire to realize himself in other directions.

The second problem in the playing of Shakespeare has to do with style. I do not refer now to the general style of production (the nature of the settings, etc.), which must also derive from the director's conception of the play's meaning, but to style as it affects speech.

The English actor speaks better than the American (the neglect of speech on the American stage for the past seventy-five years is disgraceful), but this does not mean that the English actor really deals successfully with the problem of Shakespearean speech. He speaks with good voice and diction on an elevated tone indicative of his awe at the beauty of the writing, but this is only a way of saying that he speaks the lines rather more carefully than he would ordinary realistic dialogue. But Shakespeare's speech has very little to do with realism (in his own time or in ours) and the fact that he can be made intelligible on the prosaic level of the twentieth-century theatre does not mean that this is the correct approach to him.

How should one speak Shakespeare so that his plays have their own specific reality and a true dramatic life—as distinguished both from elocutionary bombast and the flat reasonableness of our workaday stage? I shall try to suggest an answer to this question in my next piece.

HAROLD CLURMAN

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ON THE AIR

The Other Shoe

THIS DEPARTMENT is proud of its record of harping on the need for more and better educational broadcasting and for its insistence that Frieda Hennock (who has been nominated for promotion from the Federal Communications Commission to the US District Court) and FCC Chairman Wayne Coy be backed in the battle for allocation of television channels to non-commercial, educational broadcasters. But no one on my side of the fence wants to relieve the commercial broadcaster of his legal responsibility to do educational work. Therefore when a cultural institution refuses to co-operate with a broadcaster because the station man also wants to earn a dollar (or a million), the incident should be recorded.

My report this week concerns an exchange of correspondence between WNBT, which is NBC's television station in New York, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. There is no doubt whatever that WNBT is in business for the sake of dividends. That's why, about a year ago, it hired as its general manager Ted Cott, then programming vice-president of a local non-network station, WNEW. Cott had earned at WNEW an impressive, double-barreled reputation: he helped to make the sta-

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tion one of the richest broadcasting operations in the country and, at the same time, won a wallful of awards for public-service programs.

Last February, WNBT started planning a show that has since been widely applauded. In "Treasures of New York" John Kieran leads his audience informally but knowingly through various New York museums, scientific institutions and art galleries. Broadcast time is at noon on Saturdays—an excellent hour for a program of this type. As a matter of course, WNBT wrote to Francis Henry Taylor, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, seeking his co-operation on "Treasures." Taylor couldn't see the idea. He pointed out that normally "only the guardianship and education departments function over the week-ends" and feared that payments for overtime might be burdensome. To an outsider it would seem that Taylor had on tap just the crews he needed for WNBT's week-end tour; in any case, Cott promptly replied that he would be glad to discuss the absorption of special personnel expenses.

But Taylor also disliked Cott's selection of broadcast time, declaring it to be "obviously . . . the worst possible hour." What if it were? The Metropolitan's attendance figures show that, in 52 Saturdays, it drew a total of 349,995 visitors, ranging in number on any one Saturday from 973 to 24,000. If WNBT couldn't deliver 24,000 viewers for the most "fractional" of esoteric programs at one a.m.—let alone Saturday noon—Cott would have been job-hunting months ago. Figures released this week, from a study made for NBC by the Hofstra College Psychological Workshop, show that 51 percent of metropolitan New York's potential broadcast audience now owns television sets. Out of that many sets, enough are tuned to WNBT at any time to equal the Metropolitan's live audience—especially on that stormy day when only 973 customers dared to get their feet wet.

The museum director went on at some length in his letter of refusal. For instance:

We have been following very closely the hearings held recently before the FCC in regard to the allocations of time and channels for radio and television for education and we are fully aware that your suggestion is prompted as much by necessity as it is by altruism. I am brutally frank therefore in stating that I do not believe that the program which you offer at noon on Saturdays has any interest for us whatever. When the National Broadcasting Company is ready to offer us time which we can use to our advantage and which would have some really worthwhile educational purpose, we will be very happy to co-operate.

If Taylor displayed little understanding of good broadcast time for a program exhibiting museum fare, he proved that he knew nothing at all about Cott. At the very moment the Metropolitan was sneering, Cott's television station alone (he runs NBC's New York radio station too) was spending $7,733 a week for a schedule of sustaining programs that included a couple of United Nations items; a dramatic series produced in co-operation with the YMCA of New York and the American Jewish Committee; a daily 20-minute broadcast, "Bringing Up Mother," that presents at peak soap-opera time (10:40 a.m.) a succession of experts who advise housewives on child care, marital problems and other phases of family life. Since the time Taylor sent his regrets, Cott's public-service bill on television has gone up to more than $10,000 a week, including $1,450 each Saturday for "Treasures of New York." Kieran's followers have visited the Museum of Natural History, the Museum of Modern Art, the Brooklyn Museum, the Hayden Planetarium, the Greenwich Village annual open-air art show and New York University's "Hall of Fame." But not the Metropolitan.

If Taylor were running his bazaar on Broadway, his well-wishers would advise him to "get with it!" But I'm sure no one speaks so crudely—or candidly—on upper Fifth Avenue. SAUL CARSON

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